

# CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE  
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## PEACE LEAGUE COVENANT

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WORK OF THE Y. M. C. A.  
RAVISHMENT OF FRANCE

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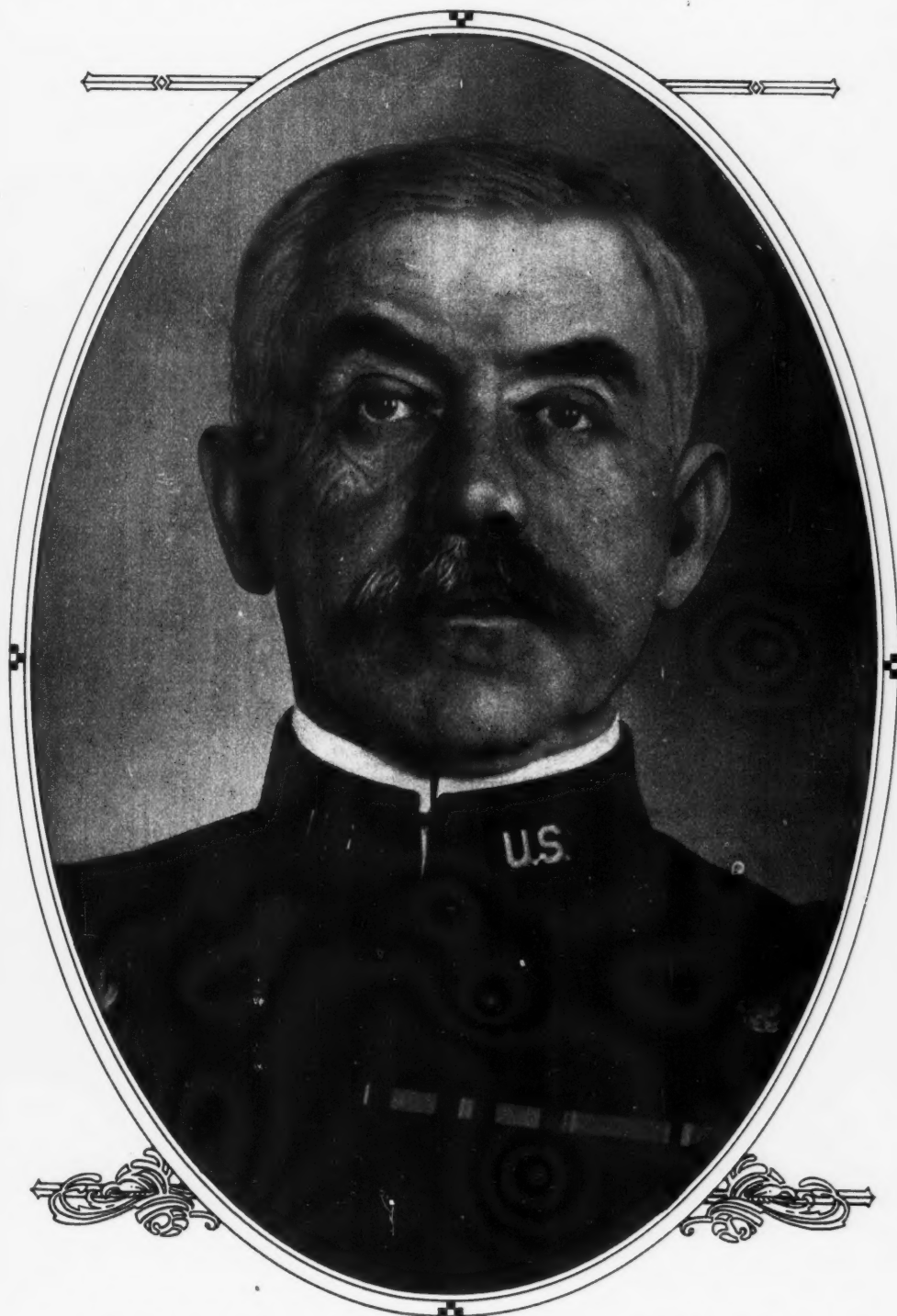
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Gen. Barry Succeeded the Late Major Gen. J. Franklin Bell in  
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WALKER D. HINES



Appointed Jan. 11, 1919, as Director General of Railroads,  
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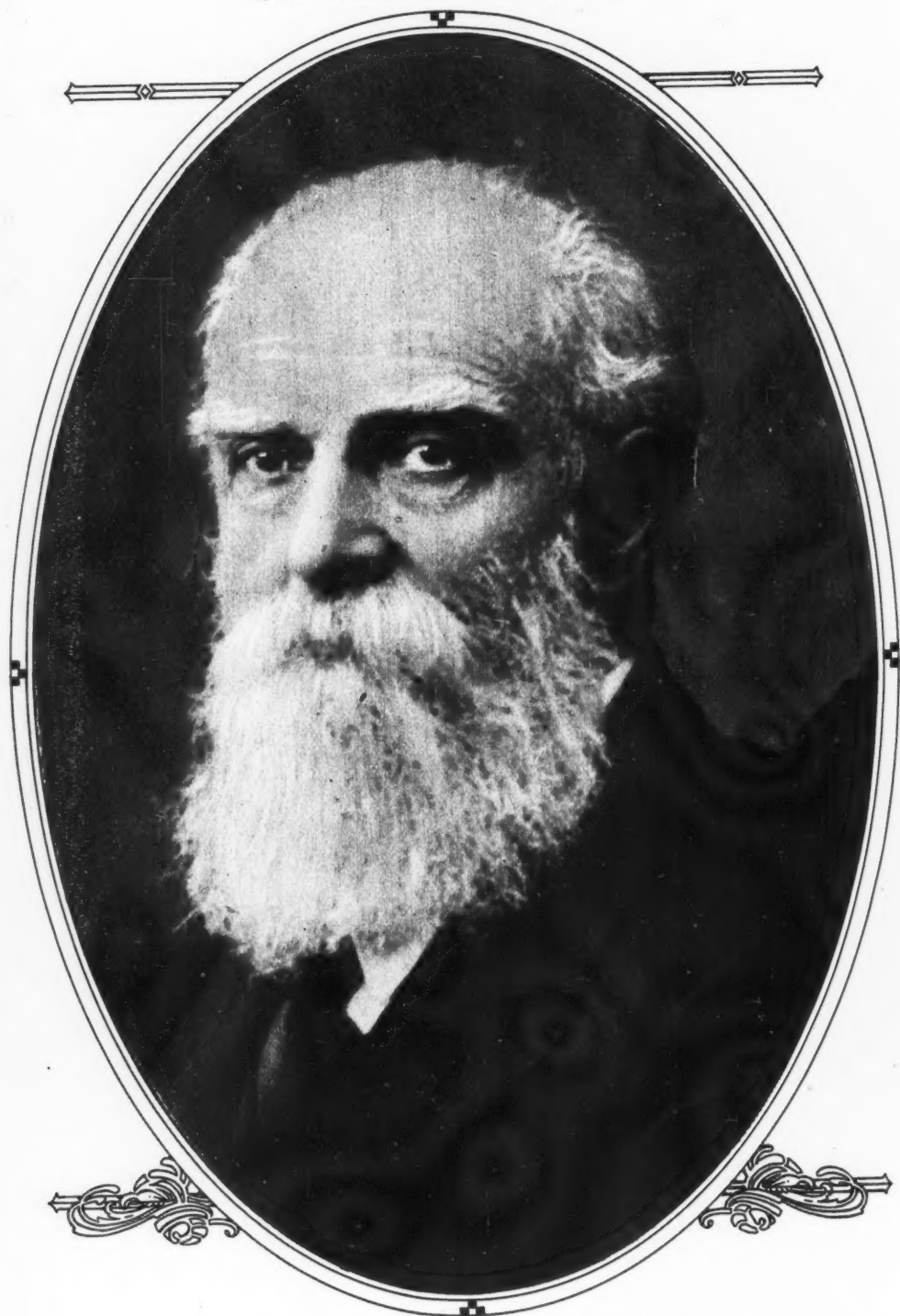
COUNT BROCKDORF-RANTZAU



German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Succeeding Dr. W. S. Solf



NICHOLAS TCHAIKOVSKY



Premier of the North Russian Government, Opposed to the  
Bolshevist Régime



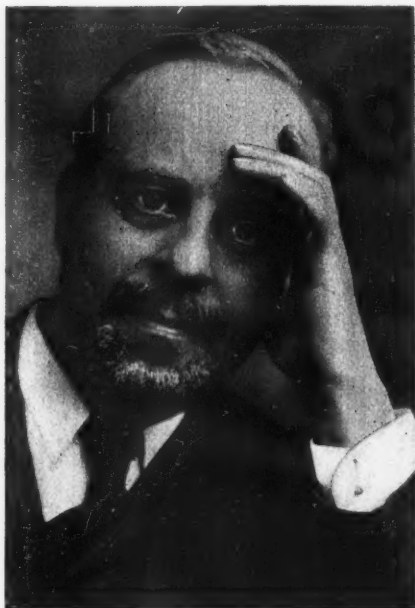
DR. KARL LIEBKNECHT



Leader of the Spartacan Revolt, Who Was Killed Jan. 15, 1919,  
in the Berlin Riots



## NEWSPAPER MEN AT PEACE CONFERENCE



**George H. Perris**  
*British Correspondent at French  
Front*



**Philip Gibbs**  
*War Correspondent with British  
Armies*



**George Creel**  
*Chairman of Committee on Public  
Information*



**Ray Stannard Baker**  
*Official Reporter of Peace  
Conference*



"THE WATCH ON THE RHINE"



American Sentry on Bridge at Coblenz, Germany, Opposite the  
Famous Fortress of Ehrenbreitstein

(© Committee on Public Information from Underwood & Underwood)



WHERE THE PEACE CONFERENCE IS HELD

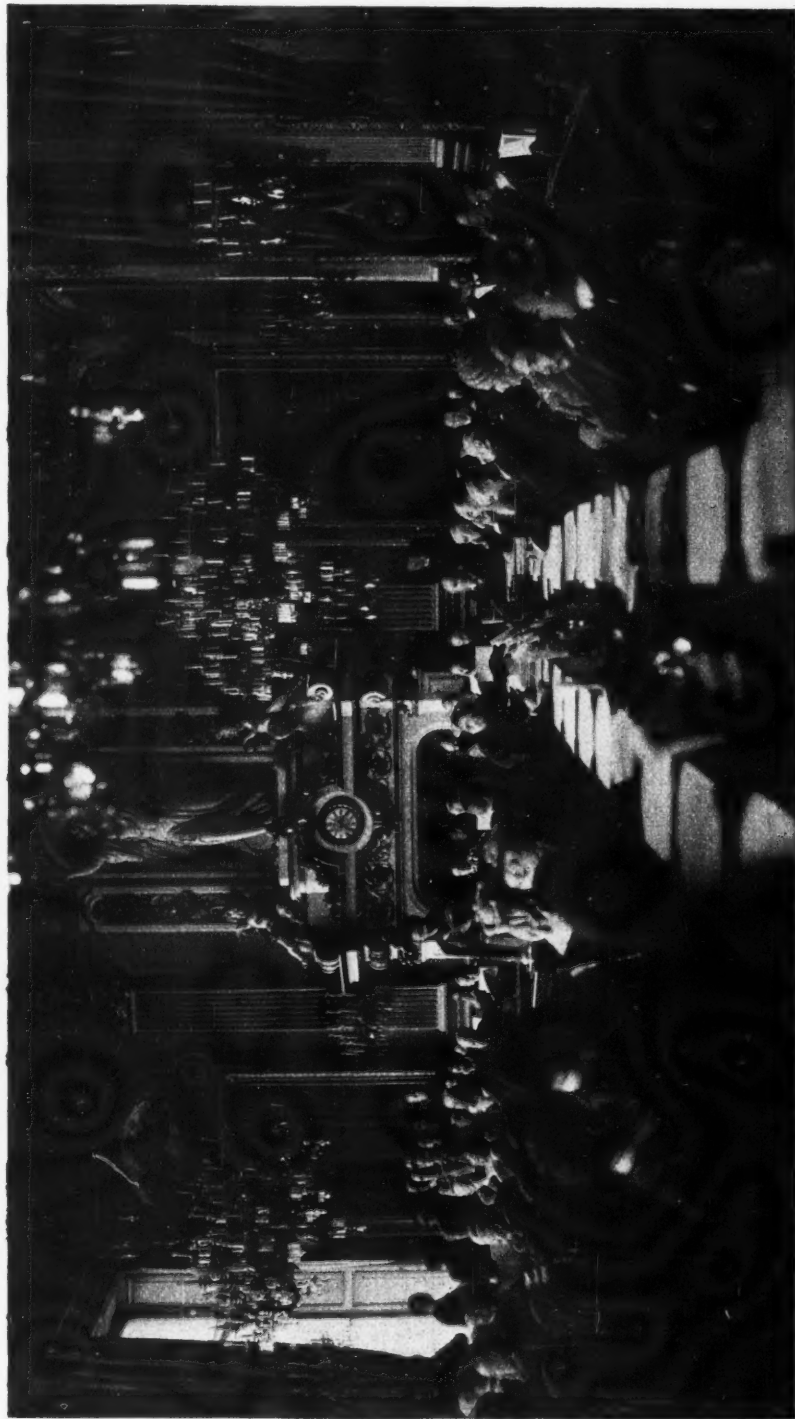


The Quai d'Orsay in Paris Houses the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and in One Salon of the Building the Peace Delegates Meet

(© Times Photo Service)



THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN SESSION

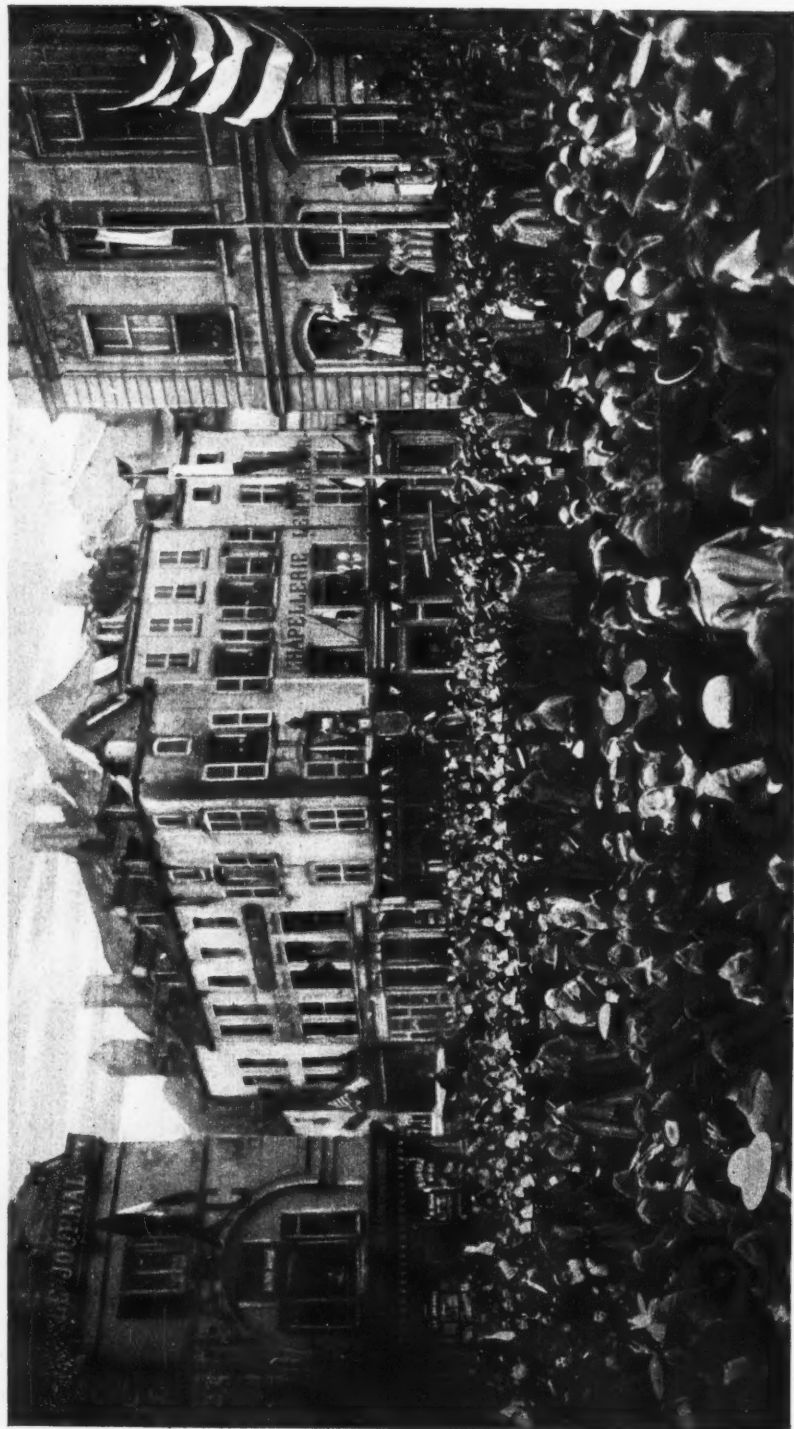


First Photograph to Reach This Country Showing the Peace Delegates Actually in Session. President Wilson Is at Left of Clock

(© Western Newspaper Union)



PRESIDENT WILSON AND MRS. WILSON AT CHAUMONT, FRANCE

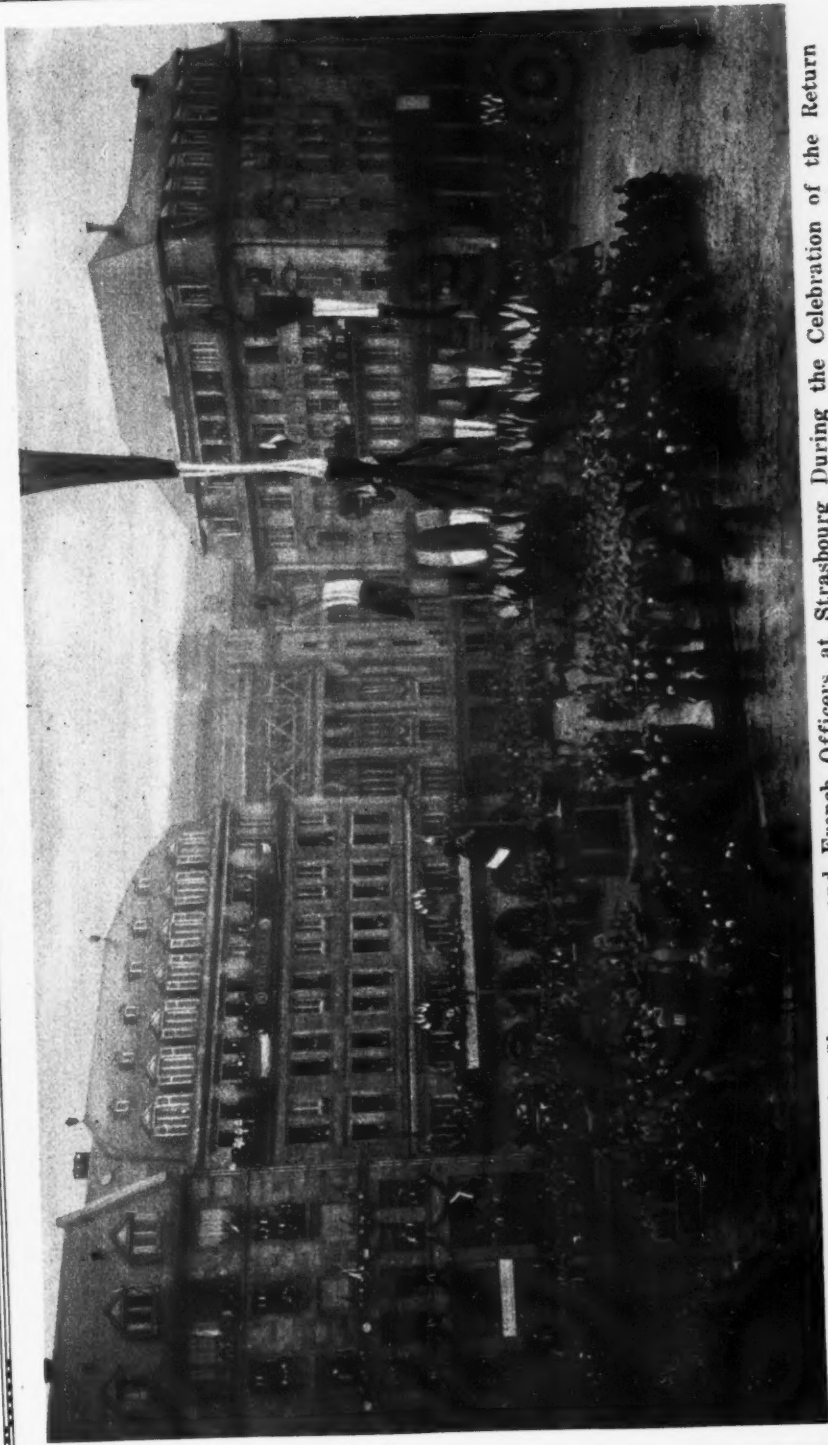


The President and Mrs. Wilson, Escorted by Gen. Pershing, Leaving the Town Hall of Chaumont, France, Headquarters of American Expeditionary Forces

(© Times Photo Service)



TRIUMPHANT FRENCH ENTRY INTO STRASBOURG



President Poincaré, Premier Clemenceau, and French Officers at Strasbourg During the Celebration of the Return of Alsace-Lorraine Described Elsewhere in These Pages

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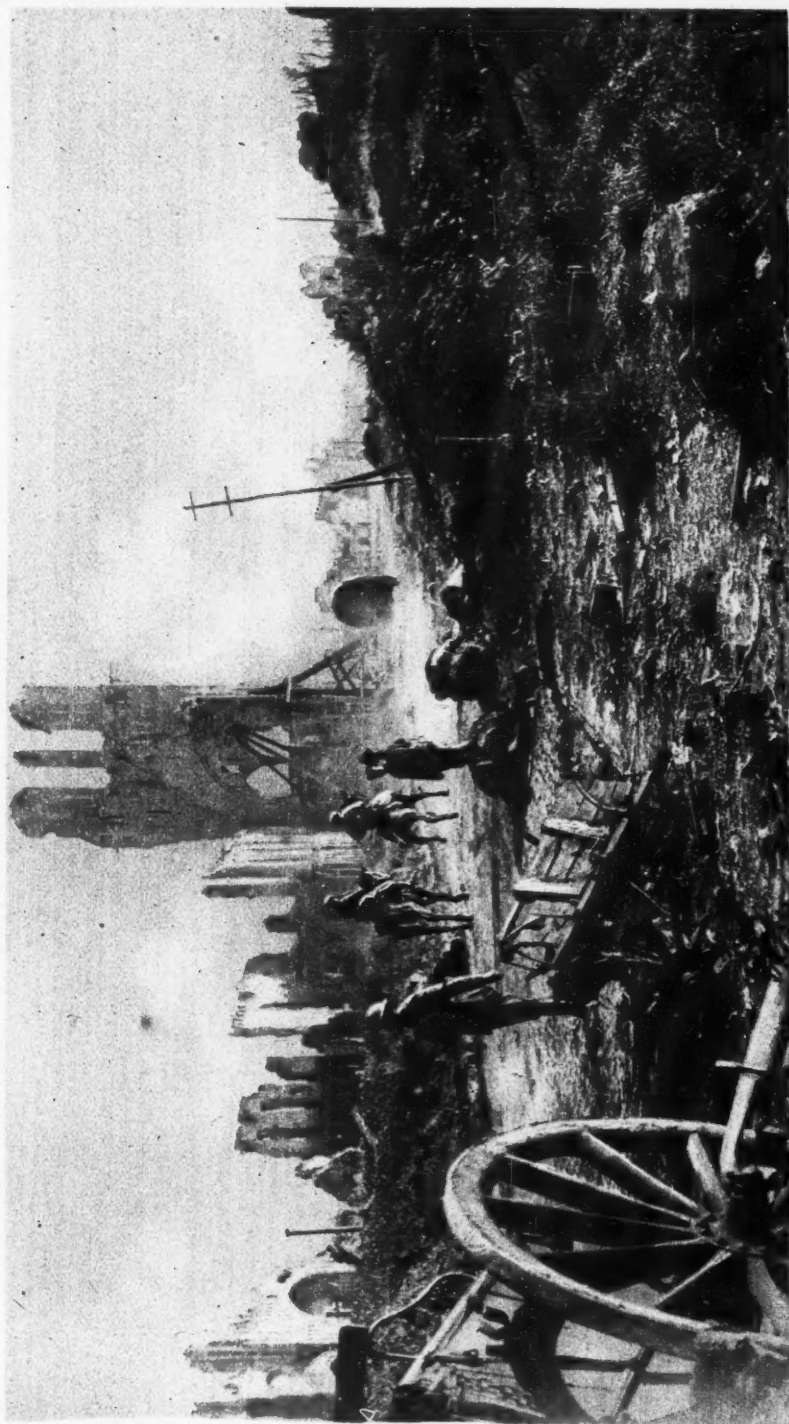
AMERICAN ARMY OF OCCUPATION IN GERMANY



The 1st Division of the 28th American Infantry Entering Coblenz. Men Are Being Billeted Under Supervision of Officers  
(© International Film Service)



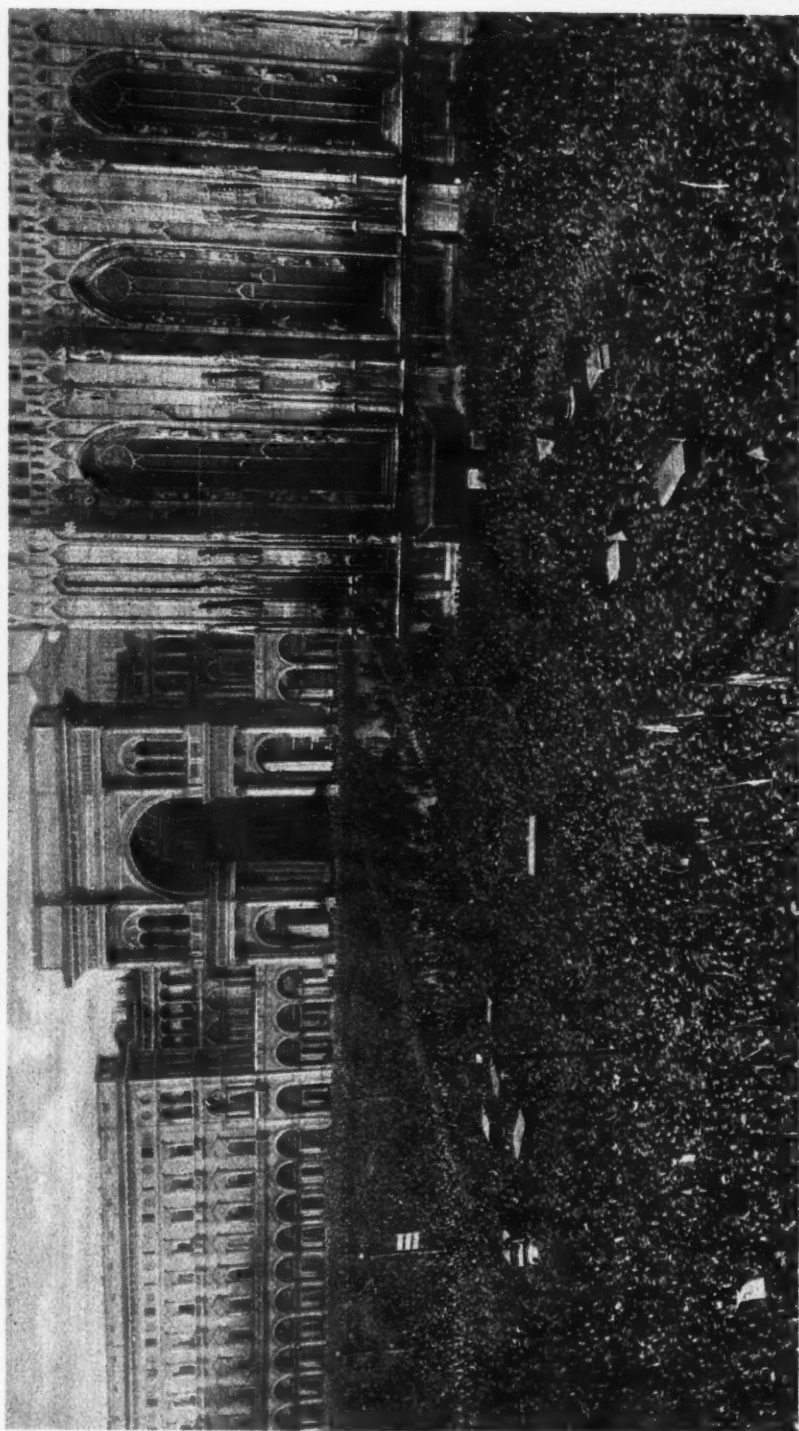
THE ONCE BEAUTIFUL CLOTH HALL OF YPRES, BELGIUM



Utter Ruin of the Famous Structure That Was Not Only the Pride of Belgium but a Treasure of the World  
(British Official Photo)



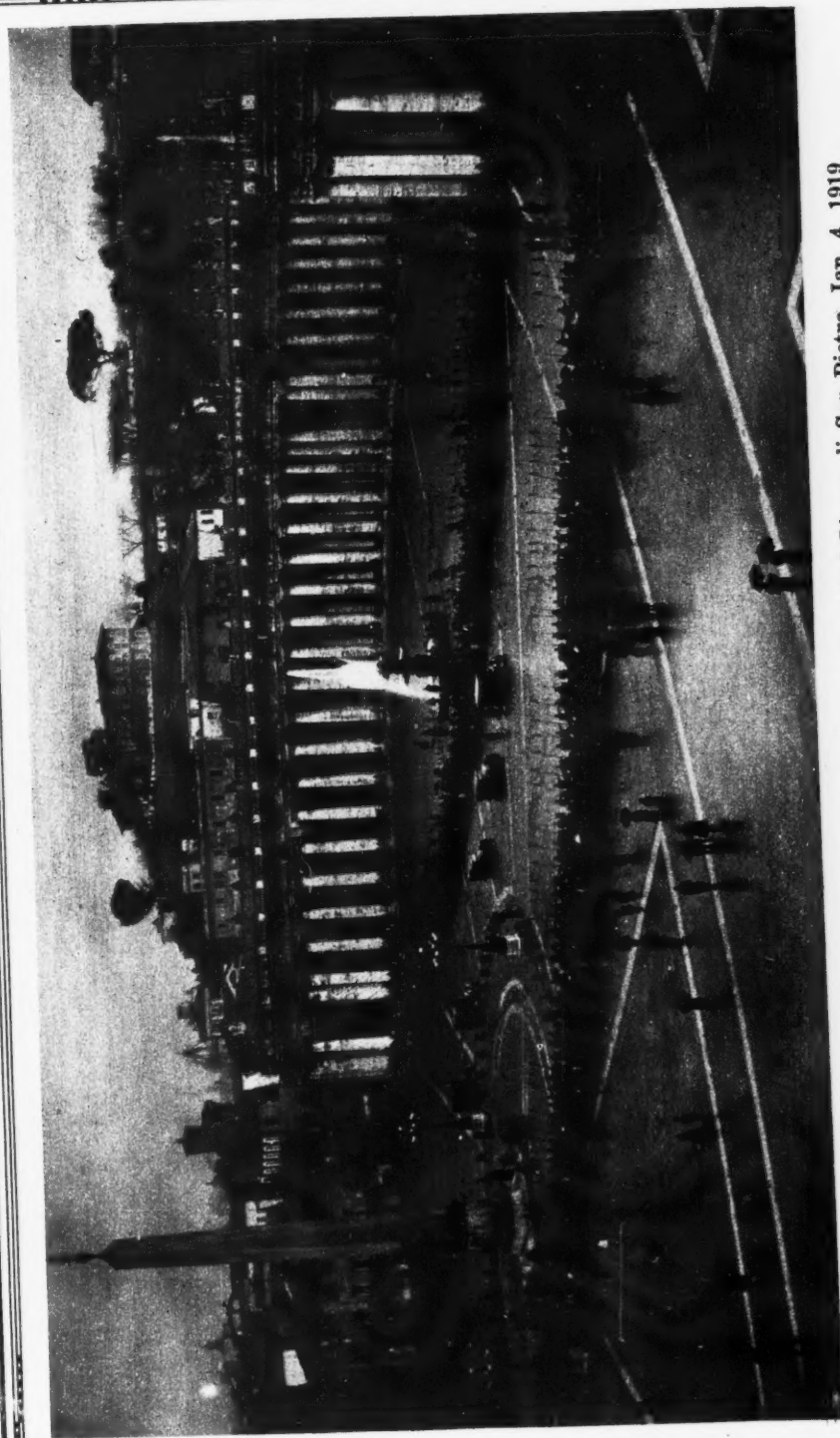
PRESIDENT WILSON AT MILAN, ITALY



A Tremendous Outpouring of People, Wild With Enthusiasm, Greeted President Wilson When He Visited Milan,  
Jan. 5, 1919  
(Times Photo Service)



ROME, ITALY, GAVE THE PRESIDENT A GREAT WELCOME



The Presidential Party Entering the Spacious and Beautiful Piazza di San Pietro, Jan. 4, 1919  
(© Underwood & Underwood)



MEETING OF TWO GREAT ALLIED GENERALS



Gen. Sir Edmund Allenby, Victor in Palestine, and Gen. Franchet d'Esperey, Conqueror of Bulgaria, Meeting at Scutari, Opposite Constantinople

(© French Pictorial Service)



# CURRENT HISTORY

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# THE PEACE CONGRESS

## A Tentative Constitution for a League of Nations Agreed Upon ---Other Proceedings

**T**HE proceedings of the opening session of the Peace Congress, held at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris, Jan. 18, 1919, were recorded in the preceding issue of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*. At that session the regulations governing the Conference proceedings were adopted—in sixteen sections. The following were the regulations regarding the composition of the Congress:

### MEMBERSHIP

The belligerent Powers with general interests—the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan—shall take part in all meetings and commissions.

The belligerent Powers with particular interests—Belgium, Brazil, the British Dominions, and India, China, Cuba, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, Siam, and the Czechoslovak Republic—shall take part in the sittings at which questions concerning them are discussed.

The Powers in a state of diplomatic rupture with the enemy powers—Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay—shall take part in the sittings at which questions concerning them are discussed.

The neutral Powers and States in process of formation may be heard either orally or in writing when summoned by the Powers with general interests at sittings devoted especially to the examination of questions directly concerning them, but only so far as these questions are concerned.

### REPRESENTATION

The representation of the different Powers was fixed as follows:

Five for the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan; three for Belgium, Brazil, and Serbia; two for China, Greece, the King of Hedjaz, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Siam, and the Czechoslovak Republic; one for Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, and Panama; one for Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay.

The British Dominions and India shall be represented as follows: Two delegates each for Australia, Canada, South Africa,

and India, including the native States; one delegate for New Zealand.

Although the number of delegates may not exceed the figures above mentioned, each delegation has the right to avail itself of the panel system. The representation of the Dominions, including Newfoundland, and of India, may be included in the representation of the British Empire by the panel system.

Montenegro shall be represented by one delegate, but the rules concerning the designation of this delegate shall not be fixed until the moment when the political situation of this country shall have been cleared up.

The conditions of the representation of Russia shall be fixed by the conference at the moment when the matters concerning Russia are examined.

### SECRETARIAT

The provision regarding the secretariat was as follows:

A secretariat, appointed from outside the plenipotentiaries, composed of one representative of the United States of America, one of the British Empire, one of France, one of Italy, and one of Japan, will be submitted to the approval of the Conference by the President, who will be the controlling authority responsible for its operations.

This secretariat will be intrusted with the care of drafting the protocols of the meeting, of classifying the archives, of providing for the administration and organization of the Conference and generally of insuring the regular and punctual working of the service intrusted to it. The head of the secretariat shall have charge of and be responsible for the protocols and archives.

The archives will always be open to the members of the Conference.

### PUBLICITY

The publicity of the proceedings shall be insured by official communiqués prepared by the secretariat and made public. In case of disagreement as to the drafting of these communiqués, the matter shall be referred to the principal plenipotentiaries or their representatives.

A provision was made that all questions to be decided upon should be subject to two readings. The following pro-



gram regarding resolutions was agreed to:

#### DECISIONS

A committee shall be formed for drafting the resolutions adopted. This committee shall concern itself only with questions which have been decided. Its sole duty shall be to draw up the text of the decision adopted and to present it for the approval of the Conference.

It shall be composed of five members not forming part of the plenipotentiary delegates and composed of one representative of the United States of America, one of the British Empire, one of France, one of Italy, and one of Japan.

#### THE SUPREME COUNCIL

The Supreme Council, consisting of the two ranking delegates from each of the five chief Powers, held its first session after the adjournment of the Plenary Council on Jan. 20, and devoted the session to consideration of the Russian situation. The meeting was addressed by Joseph Noulens, the French Ambassador, who had recently returned from Russia. The session on the following day also was devoted to Russia, and M. Scavenius, Danish Minister to Russia, was heard. At the session of the council on Jan. 22 the decision was announced by which all Russian factions were invited to a conference at Princes' Islands, Sea of Marmora. The text of the announcement and other details appear elsewhere in this issue of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*.

At the meeting of the Supreme Council on Jan. 23 an order of business was announced for a plenary meeting of the Conference on Saturday, Jan. 25. The following questions were considered for this purpose:

- First—International legislation on labor.
- Second—Responsibility and punishments in connection with the war.
- Third—Reparation for war damage.
- Fourth—International régime of ports, waterways, and railways.

In addition, the meeting began consideration of the procedure to be adopted with regard to territorial questions.

#### SUPREME WAR COUNCIL

At the meeting on the 24th the Supreme Council first met as the Supreme War Council. Not only were there present President Wilson and the Premiers, and Foreign Ministers, but also Marshal

Foch, Field Marshal Haig, General Pershing, General Diaz, and the Generals of the Versailles War Council, including Generals Wilson, Belling, Bliss, and Robilant.

The council conferred with Marshal Foch and the other military experts as to the strength of the forces to be allowed to the various allied Powers on the western front during the period of the armistice. It was decided to set up a special committee composed of Mr. Churchill, Mr. Loucheur, Marshal Foch, General Bliss, and General Diaz to examine the question.

The Supreme War Council also agreed to recommend for the approval of the Governments concerned the issue of an identic medal and ribbon to all the forces of the allied and associated Powers who had taken part in the war.

#### WARNING TO FACTIONS

After the Supplementary Council, the President of the United States of America and the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of the allied and associated Governments, with the representatives of Japan, held a short meeting and agreed to the publication and transmission by wireless telegraphy to all parts of the world of the following communication:

The Governments now associated in conference to effect a lasting peace among the nations are deeply disturbed by the news which comes to them of the many instances in which armed force is being made use of in many parts of Europe and the East to gain possession of territory, the rightful claim to which the Peace Conference is to be asked to determine.

They deem it their duty to utter a solemn warning that possession, gained by force, will seriously prejudice the claims of those who use this means. It will create the presumption that those who employ force doubt the justice and validity of their claims, and purpose to substitute possession for proof of right, and set up sovereignty by coercion rather than by racial or national preference and natural historical association. They thus put a cloud upon every evidence of title they may afterward allege, and indicate their distrust of the Conference itself.

Nothing but the most unfortunate results can ensue. If they expect justice they must refrain from force and place their claims in unclouded good faith in the hands of the Conference of Peace.



## MISSION TO POLAND

At a meeting of the council the same day the mission of the Allies and associated great Powers to Poland was discussed, and it was agreed that M. Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, should prepare draft instructions to the mission for the approval of the representatives of the powers. It was agreed that one press representative for each of the five great Powers should be permitted to accompany the mission.

The question of territorial readjustments in connection with the conquest of the German colonies was then taken up. Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada; Mr. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia; General Smuts, representative of General Botha, the Prime Minister of South Africa, and Mr. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand, were present and explained the particular interest of the respective dominions in regard to this question.

## Second Plenary Session

## Preliminary Steps for the Organization of a League of Nations

THE second plenary session of the Peace Conference, held on Jan. 25, 1919, with Premier Clemenceau in the chair, was marked by the adoption of the plan for a League of Nations. The plan was accepted unanimously, the principles upon which it was based being emphasized and firmly supported by the representatives of the allied Powers. After having called the delegates to order, M. Clemenceau read the resolution on the creation of a committee on the League of Nations, the text of which follows:

It is essential to the maintenance of the world settlement which the associated nations are now met to establish that a League of Nations be created to promote international obligations and to provide safeguards against war.

This League should be created as an integral part of the general treaty of peace and should be open to every civilized nation which can be relied on to promote its objects.

The members of the League should periodically meet in international conference and should have a permanent organization and secretaries to carry on the business of the League in the intervals between the conferences.

The Conference therefore appoints a committee, representative of the associated Governments, to work out the details of the constitution and the functions of the League and the draft of resolutions in regard to breaches of the laws of war for presentation to the Peace Conference.

That a commission, composed of two representatives apiece from the five great Powers and five representatives to be

elected by the other Powers, be appointed to inquire and report upon the following:

First—The responsibility of the authors of the war.

Second—The facts as to breaches of the laws and customs of war committed by the forces of the German Empire and their allies on land, on sea, and in the air during the present war.

Third—The degree of responsibility for these offenses attaching to particular members of the enemy's forces, including members of the General Staffs and other individuals, however highly placed.

Fourth—The constitution and procedure of a tribunal appropriate to the trial of these offenses.

Fifth—Any other matters, cognate or ancillary to the above, which may arise in the course of the inquiry, and which the commission finds it useful and relevant to take into consideration.

## PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS

After the resolution had been read, the Chair recognized President Wilson, who made the following address to the assembly:

Mr. Chairman: I consider it a distinguished privilege to be permitted to open the discussion in this conference on the League of Nations. We have assembled for two purposes, to make the present settlements which have been rendered necessary by this war and also to secure the peace of the world, not only by the present settlements but by the arrangements we shall make at this conference for its maintenance.

The League of Nations seems to me to be necessary for both of these purposes. There are many complicated questions connected with the present settlements which perhaps cannot be successfully



worked out to an ultimate issue by the decisions we shall arrive at here. I can easily conceive that many of these settlements will need subsequent consideration; that many of the decisions we make shall need subsequent alteration in some degree, for, if I may judge by my own study of some of these questions, they are not susceptible of confident judgments at present.

It is therefore necessary that we should set up some machinery by which the work of this conference should be rendered complete.

We have assembled here for the purpose of doing very much more than making the present settlements that are necessary. We are assembled under very peculiar conditions of world opinion. I may say, without straining the point, that we are not the representatives of Governments, but representatives of the peoples. It will not suffice to satisfy Governmental circles anywhere. It is necessary that we should satisfy the opinion of mankind.

The burdens of this war have fallen in an unusual degree upon the whole population of the countries involved. I do not need to draw for you the picture of how the burden has been thrown back from the front upon the older men, upon the women, upon the children, upon the homes of the civilized world, and how the real strain of the war has come where the eyes of the Government could not reach, but where the heart of humanity beats.

#### PERMANENT PROCESSES NEEDED

We are bidden by these people to make a peace which will make them secure. We are bidden by these people to see to it that this strain does not come upon them again. And I venture to say that it has been possible for them to bear this strain because they hoped that those who represented them could get together after this war and make such another sacrifice unnecessary.

It is a solemn obligation on our part, therefore, to make permanent arrangements that justice shall be rendered and peace maintained. This is the central object of our meeting. Settlements may be temporary, but the action of the nations in the interest of peace and justice must be permanent. We can set up permanent processes. We may not be able to set up a permanent decision.

Therefore, it seems to me that we must take as far as we can a picture of the world into our minds. Is it not a startling circumstance, for one thing, that the great discoveries of science, that the quiet studies of men in laboratories, that the thoughtful developments which have taken place in quiet lecture rooms have now been turned to the destruction of

civilization? The powers of destruction have not so much multiplied as they have gained facilities.

The enemy whom we have just overcome had in his seats of learning some of the principal centres of scientific study and discovery, and he used them in order to make destruction sudden and complete. And only the watchful and continuous co-operation of men can see to it that science, as well as armed men, is kept within the harness of civilization.

In a sense the United States is less interested in this subject than the other nations here assembled. With her great territory and her extensive sea borders it is less likely that the United States should suffer from the attack of enemies than that other nations should suffer. And the ardor of the United States—for it is a very deep and genuine ardor—for the society of nations is not an ardor springing out of fear or apprehension, but an ardor springing out of the ideals which have come in the consciousness of this war.

#### AIMS OF THE UNITED STATES

In coming into this war the United States never for a moment thought that she was intervening in the politics of Europe, or the politics of Asia, or the politics of any part of the world. Her thought was that all the world had now become conscious that there was a single cause of justice and of liberty for men of every kind and place.

Therefore, the United States would feel that its part in this war should be played in vain if there ensued upon it abortive European settlements. It would feel that it could not take part in guaranteeing those European settlements unless that guarantee involved the continuous superintendence of the peace of the world by the associated nations of the world.

Therefore, it seems to me that we must concern our best judgment in order to make this League of Nations a vital thing—a thing sometimes called into life to meet an exigency, but always functioning in watchful attendance upon the interests of the nations—and that its continuity should be a vital continuity; that its functions are continuing functions that do not permit an intermission of its watchfulness and of its labor; that it should be the eye of the nations, to keep watch upon the common interest—an eye that does not slumber, an eye that is everywhere watchful and attentive.

And if we do not make it vital, what shall we do? We shall disappoint the expectations of the peoples. This is what their thought centres upon.

I have had the very delightful experience of visiting several nations since I came to this side of the water, and every time



the voice of the body of the people reached me, through any representative, at the front of the plea stood the hope of the League of Nations.

Gentlemen, the select classes of mankind are no longer the governors of mankind. The fortunes of mankind are now in the hands of the plain people of the whole world. Satisfy them, and you have justified their confidence not only, but have established peace. Fail to satisfy them, and no arrangement that you can make will either set up or steady the peace of the world.

You can imagine, I dare say, the sentiments and the purpose with which the representatives of the United States support this great project for a League of Nations. We regard it as the keynote of the whole, which expresses our purposes and ideals in this war and which the associated nations have accepted as the basis of a settlement.

### THE PEOPLE'S MANDATE

If we returned to the United States without having made every effort in our power to realize this program, we should return to meet the merited scorn of our fellow-citizens. For they are a body that constitute a great democracy. They expect their leaders to speak; their representatives to be their servants.

We have no choice but to obey their mandate. But it is with the greatest enthusiasm and pleasure that we accept that mandate. And because this is the keynote of the whole fabric, we have pledged our every purpose to it, as we have to every item of the fabric. We would not dare abate a single item of the program which constitutes our instructions; we would not dare to compromise upon any matter as the champion of this thing—this peace of the world, this attitude of justice, this principle that we are the masters of no peoples, but are here to see that every people in the world shall choose its own masters and govern its own destinies, not as we wish, but as they wish.

We are here to see, in short, that the very foundations of this war are swept away. Those foundations were the private choice of a small coterie of civil rulers and military staffs. Those foundations were the aggression of great Powers upon the small. Those foundations were the holding together of empires of unwilling subjects by the duress of arms. Those foundations were the power of small bodies of men to wield their will and use mankind as pawns in a game. And nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace.

You can see that the representatives of the United States are, therefore, never

put to the embarrassment of choosing a way of expediency, because they have had laid down before them the unalterable lines of principles. And, thank God, these lines have been accepted as the lines of settlements by all the high-minded men who have had to do with the beginning of this great business.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, when it is known, as I feel confident it will be known, that we have adopted the principle of the League of Nations and mean to work out that principle in effective action, we shall by that single thing have lifted a great part of the load of anxiety from the hearts of men everywhere.

We stand in a peculiar cause. As I go about the streets here I see everywhere the American uniform. Those men came into the war after we had uttered our purpose. They came as crusaders, not merely to win a war but to win a cause. And I am responsible for them, for it falls to me to formulate the purpose for which I asked them to fight, and I, like them, must be a crusader for these things, whatever it costs and whatever it may be necessary to do in honor to accomplish the object for which they fought.

I have been glad to find from day to day that there is no question of our standing alone in this matter, for there are champions of this cause upon every hand. I am merely avowing this in order that you may understand why, perhaps, it fell to us, who are disengaged from the politics of this great Continent and of the Orient, to suggest that this was the keystone of the arch, and why it occurred to the generous mind of your President to call upon me to open this debate. It is not because we alone represent this idea, but because it is our privilege to associate ourselves with you in representing it.

I have only tried in what I have said to give you the fountains of the enthusiasm which is within us for this thing, for those fountains spring, it seems to me, from all the ancient wrongs and sympathies of mankind, and the very pulse of the world seems to beat to the fullest in this enterprise.

### SECONDED BY BRITAIN

President Wilson was followed by Premier Lloyd George, who made the following speech in support of the resolution:

Mr. Chairman: I rise to second this resolution. After the noble speech of the American President, I feel that no observations are needed in order to commend this resolution to the Conference, and I should not have intervened at all had it not been that I wished to state how emphatically the people of the British Empire are behind this proposal.



And if the national leaders have not been able during the last five years to devote as much time as they would like to its advocacy, it is because their time and their energy have been absorbed in the exigencies of a terrible struggle.

Had there been the slightest doubt in my mind as to the wisdom of this scheme, it would have vanished before an irresistible appeal made to me by the spectacle I witnessed last Sunday. I visited a region which but a few years ago was one of the fairest in an exceptionally fair land. I found it a ruin and a desolation.

I drove for hours through a country which did not appear like the habitation of living men and women and children, but like the excavation of a province, shattered and torn. I went to one city, where I witnessed a scene of devastation that no indemnity can ever repair—one of the beautiful things of the world disfigured and defaced beyond repair.

And one of the cruelest features to my mind was what I could see had happened—that Frenchmen, who love their land almost beyond any nation, in order to establish the justice of their cause had to assist the cruel enemy in demolishing their homes, and I felt that these are the results—only part of the results.

Had I been there three months ago, I would have witnessed something that I dare not describe. But I saw acres of graves of the fallen. And these were the results of the only methods, the only organized methods, that civilized nations have ever attempted or established to settle disputes among each other. And my feeling was: Surely it is time that a saner plan for settling disputes between peoples ought to be established than this organized savagery.

I don't know whether this will succeed. But if we attempt it, the attempt will be a success, and for that reason I second the proposal.

#### SUPPORTED BY ITALY

The Italian Premier, Signor Orlando, was next recognized by the Chair, and he expressed his support of the plan in the following words:

I wish to express fervent adhesion to the great principles which we are asked to consecrate, and I think by doing this we shall only fulfill the most solemn obligation we have undertaken toward our people. We asked them to make immense efforts and the counterpart of the responsibility we took was for them sacrifices, unnamed sufferings and death.

We are only doing our duty by keeping our sacred promise, and we must therefore bring into this full consent of mind, and if I may say so, purity of soul. No

people is more ready to accept in its entirety this principle. It is with no feeling of vanity that I shall now recall the great juridical tradition of the Italian people. The principle of law is not only the principle of protection and of justice against violence—it is the form guaranteed by the State of what is a vital principle to humanity—social co-operation and solidarity among men.

The plan which will be laid before us must give us not only guarantees against future wars, but must secure co-operation between nations. This is a great historical day. Today the right of peoples is born. It is only just that it should be born in this generous country of France, which has fought so well by her genius and by her blood to insure the triumph of the rights of man, and this is a happy omen in the beginning of these debates.

#### ATTITUDE OF FRANCE

Leon Bourgeois, a French delegate, then expressed his adherence to the plan. He said:

I express my gratitude to the President of the republic who appointed me to speak on this great occasion. Was it because of his memory of the part I took in The Hague Conference? Whatever the reason, half of the honor now given to me must go to those of my colleagues present who were at The Hague with me.

The strong expression used by President Wilson—that we are not only the representatives of Governments, but the representatives of peoples—is something we must reflect upon. What do the free peoples of the world wish for? They wish that the terrible experience of the last four and a half years should never be renewed; they wish for the thing so deeply desired by all the victims of this war, all those who died for freedom and the right—the men who died fighting, not only for their country, but as true crusaders for the liberty of the world.

The striking picture drawn by Mr. Lloyd George of what he saw in one of the devastated parts of France is only one instance of a great fact. The devastating effect of an international conflict cannot now be limited to the place near where the conflict started. There is now no possibility of limiting any conflict of this sort. It cannot happen anywhere without putting the whole world in mortal danger. The whole world is interdependent economically, morally, and intellectually.

Another reason makes it impossible for us to face the renewal of such a war. It is the great progress and the great future progress of science which—against its object, which is all for the benefit of



mankind—will be used as it has been used, if we do not find some way out of the difficulty, for purposes of wholesale destruction.

### SAFEGUARDING THE FUTURE

By thinking of what has been done during this war we can imagine what will happen if another war takes place in another forty or fifty years. We have the right to say that the problem before our consciences—how to assure the future of our own country and the future of our common motherland, the world, while making superior its interest—is the problem of general peace. We can remember the scruples which at The Hague were felt even by the representatives of the most free and most peaceful countries, when they said that they were obliged to limit the stipulations to what would preserve the honor and vital interests of their respective countries.

At present the vital interest of all countries is for a universal peace, based upon the relevance of right, and the rights of all our countries separately are dependent upon it. How can we make a reality of what was thought to be a dream of yesterday? How is it that practical statesmen are now around this table with the common thought that will certainly be expressed by your unanimous votes on what we thought only yesterday to be Utopia?

If we look backward to the history of the last thirty years—and, especially, if I am permitted to refer to it again, The Hague Conference—we can see that, in spite of the disappointment we have suffered, such meetings as that of The Hague Conference had results. Such a dangerous conflict as that between France and Germany at the time of the Casa Blanca incident could be solved by a decision respecting the honor of both countries by a process of arbitration.

Why was it not possible to apply the same proceeding to the terrible conflict which has caused the world so much suffering? There are two causes for it, one of which you will deal with presently. It is because the map of the world did not show a state of things in conformity with the principles of right. It was impossible for Frenchmen not to remember that some of their old countrymen were under foreign rule. It was impossible for Italy to forget that some of the fair provinces of Italy were not yet members of their own mother country, and there were many other questions I need not mention now.

### THE SITUATION CHANGED

How can you organize international peace by suppressing a just claim for unredeemed countries and populations? This could not be done. But after you have arrived at a settlement in conformity

with the principles of right and the wishes of populations themselves, then you will have a firm basis to build up what The Hague Conference was unable to establish.

The second difference between that time and the present time is that you will be able to sit and establish a system of punishments. At The Hague it was impossible because of the division between nations there, and that division showed already the same classification which had been shown in this war. The same group of nations was then adhering to every proposal against a peaceful settlement which we have seen since destroying the peace and happiness of the whole world. At present we are in a position not only to lay down the principles but also to establish a system of penalties.

By this you will be able to do a lasting work, and you will be able to enter with a serene mind into the temple of peace. In the name of the Government of the republic, it is my duty to say that we are ready to attempt and to lend our earnest will to everything that can bring us as far as possible on the road which has been pointed out by President Wilson's speech. You will see what measures have to be taken, but you can be certain that it is with a deep and sincere fervor that the whole of France will join in the efforts.

President Wilson said this question is in the heart of all mankind. Well that a united mankind is born, and we greet its birth.

### VIEWS OF OTHER NATIONS

The Chinese delegate, Lou Tseng Tsiang, stated that he wished to give absolute support to the plan in the name of his Government, declaring that China associated herself entirely with the high ideals embodied in the resolution.

M. Dmowski, the Polish delegate, gave expression to his support in the following declaration:

I wish to express our deep gratitude for this great initiation, and I am speaking for a nation that has suffered very much in the past and hopes that such sufferings will be the last, and that what has not been destroyed during the past centuries and during the present war shall now be preserved for future generations. I am now speaking for a country where the danger is greater than elsewhere, and a danger that is permanent, because the war has not yet come to an end in Poland; because danger and fighting continue there on three different sides. If institutions can be established giving to the world guarantees of a general, permanent peace, danger to which Poland is now exposed would not exist. I



am speaking in the name of Poland and for the existence of those where the League of Nations is most needed.

M. Hymans, the delegate from Belgium, after stating that his country adhered whole-heartedly to the principles involved in the plan, requested an explanation of the paragraph of the resolution which said: "The Conference shall appoint a committee representative of the associated Governments to work out the constitution of the League." Premier Clemenceau replied as follows:

If you will let me speak you shall be satisfied. It has been decided that the committee for the League of Nations should contain two representatives for each of the five great Powers; and that five be elected by the other Powers. The delegates nominated by the five great Powers are, for the United States of America, President Wilson and Colonel House; for the British Empire, Lord Robert Cecil and Lieut. Gen. J. C. Smuts; for France, M. Bourgeois and M. Larnaude, Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Paris; for Italy, Signor Orlando and Senator Scialoja, and for Japan, Viscount Chinda and M. Ochiai.

It has been decided that the five delegates shall be elected by the other Powers, who will present them to the committee. I suggest there should be a meeting of all Powers interested here on Monday to elect their five representatives, and as the same principle is intended to apply to the election of the other committees it might be done at the same time.

M. Clemenceau then said that unless objections were heard the session could assume that the resolution enacting the League of Nations was adopted unanimously, and likewise that the other resolutions were accepted. The record showed unanimous approval.

#### BELGIAN REPRESENTATION

The Chair then gave the floor to the Belgian delegate, M. Hymans, who brought before the body the question of representation on the committee for the smaller nations, expressing his opinion with regard to Belgium in the following statements:

What has just been said by the Chairman puts before us the whole question of how those committees are to be formed. The system adopted, except for the Committee on War Damages and Reparations, which is on a different footing, is to give two delegates apiece to each of the

great Powers and five to the whole of the nineteen Powers which are conveniently called "Powers with Special Interests." I have no authority to speak except for my own country, Belgium.

The only committee on which Belgium has representation is the Committee on Reparation of Damages. There Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, and Poland are allowed two delegates, but in all other committees the nineteen Powers I have referred to will nominate five delegates among themselves, and it is not said what system they should adopt. Our desire in speaking for Belgium alone is that Belgium should have representation in the Committee on the League of Nations, and in the Committee on Labor Legislation, for on the League of Nations Belgium has evidently something to say because of her special international situation, and also because of her historical and geographical position.

M. Hymans went on to give reasons why Belgium should have representation on these and other committees, and ended with an appeal to the conference's sense of fair play.

#### CLAIMS OF OTHER NATIONS

M. Calogeras, the Brazilian representative, declared that the formation of committees seemed to have been undertaken without any of the most responsible interests having been heard, stating that with regard to the question of the League of Nations Brazil had a particular right to be heard, since the principle that no war of conquest could be sanctioned by its Parliament had been laid down as an absolute clause in its Constitution.

Sir Robert Borden, representing Canada, while admitting the difficulty of having too large a committee, reminded the assembly that in matters where all delegates were concerned it would be more appropriate to have any definite conclusions arrived at by the assembly as a whole in accordance with rules that had been adopted. Mr. Trumbitch, the delegate for Yugoslavia, seconded the claims of the Belgian delegate, declaring that the kingdom of the Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes expected the same rights of representation.

Premier Venizelos, the Greek delegate, supported the claims of Belgium without claiming the same position for his own country. He reminded the delegates,



however, that between 300,000 and 400,000 people of Greek nationality had been killed in the Turkish Empire during the war and that it would be but fair to accord Greece one delegate on a committee inquiring into the responsibility for crimes committed during the war. He also claimed a representative for Greece on the Committee on Ports, Waterways, and Communications, not only because of the position of Greece as a maritime country, but because some of the points of Greek territory are of international importance.

M. Benes, the delegate for Czechoslovakia, claimed representation for his country on committees dealing with the matter of reparation, transportation facilities in the way of railways and waterways, and with regard to the League of Nations. M. Bratiano, the Rumanian delegate, speaking in support of M. Hyman's declarations, claimed representation for Rumania in the matter of international communications, since the Danube, the great waterway for Central Europe, had its source in Rumanian territory. He also declared that the interest taken by Rumania in the furtherance of the scheme for a League of Nations justified her direct participation in the work of preparing the plan. Both the Siamese representative, Bidadh Kosha, and the Chinese representative, Lou Tseng Tsiang, brought forward claims touching the matter of representation on the Committee on the League of Nations and on economic committees. M. Dmowski, speaking for Poland, supported the claims made by the various other smaller nations and claimed representation for Poland on all such committees as interested her directly.

#### M. CLEMENCEAU'S REPLY

Premier Clemenceau made reply to the claims put forward for greater representation with the following speech:

I shall try to justify the action of the bureau and of the Chair. If we ever had thought that it was possible to give satisfaction to every one, that illusion would have vanished by this time. Sir Robert Borden expressed the reproach that we had decided upon certain questions. Well,

yes, we decided for instance, that all the nations represented here should come to this Conference.

There is no mystery about the meetings now taking place between the representatives of the five great Powers. Mr. Borden knows probably more than most people of those meetings, since only yesterday he was present there putting before us the special views of Canada about some colonial questions.

The five Powers are obliged to say that they are in a position to justify their attitude. At the time of the armistice they had together 12,000,000 men under arms on the battlefields. Their dead can be counted by millions. If the great idea of a Society of Nations did not shape the whole of our work here, it would have been possible for us five great Powers to consult only ourselves in the settlement.

That would have been, after all, our right. Well, that has never been our thought. We have asked all the nations interested in a settlement to meet with us here. We have asked them to give us their co-operation and their help.

#### EFFICIENCY THE OBJECT

Now, what about the method? Mr. Lloyd George, in very kind words at the opening of these meetings, reminded me that I was not quite young. I entered the French Parliament in 1871, and since that time I have seen a great many committees, and have been present at work on more than one. Now, my constant observation has been that the more numerous the members on those committees were, the less work was done and less facility there was for coming to conclusions. Now, conclusions are what we want. We have behind us the great force to which we owe consideration and respect—the force of public opinion. But public opinion expects us to do things. What they will ask of us is whether we have been arriving at conclusions.

Take the question of the great Society of Nations. They are listening to our debates most anxiously. They hope to hear that something has been done toward what they consider to be one of their most desired goals. What is our desire?

We have said that each of the five Powers intended to nominate two delegates to sit in these committees. Well, let us examine the question in its narrow form. In the observations that have been made really the question now before you has been more or less exceeded. We have nominated two delegates each, and we propose that five should be nominated by the other Powers. That is not enough, we are told from all sides. Well, then, I suppose I should propose that each Power should be represented in each committee. That would satisfy every one,



but would be the means of never arriving at any conclusion.

### COMPLAINTS NOT VALID

The great complaint has been, as we have heard repeatedly from one country after another, that a country would not have a chance to be heard on the questions vitally interesting her. Now this cannot happen. You will have full right to attend, that is, to be present at the deliberations of any committee you choose. Those committees are entirely open to you; they are not created for any other purpose. You have the right to be fully heard whenever you please by any committee, and when you have been heard there, and when that committee has made its report and drafted something, you have the right to be heard again before this full sitting of the delegates, where you will be present yourself and will have the right to speak.

If we follow what has been suggested by M. Dmowski, then you are going to make proposals in writing. Well, that will come to the meetings of the five Powers. There should be no discussion about this; there should be no deliberations or discussion about the points of procedure when what is urgently required from us by public opinion is that we should pay less attention to form and deal with the substance of things. What they expect is to see our work taking material form and materializing. They wish that all those millions who are still mobilized should be enabled to return to their homes. These are the questions that interest public opinion. If we delay the vital discussion of things for an interminable debate on a question of procedure, we will, in a fortnight's time, still be at the same place from which we started.

M. Dmowski suggested that these questions should be put before the committee. I insist those questions should be put before your bureau, and to give my reason frankly, it is because I could not, we could not, accept that any commission should have the right to dictate to the five great Powers.

### DESIRE TO BE FAIR

Now, I ask simply that our resolution, as drafted, should be accepted with, of course, the right to modify and to improve it later on. If we go out of this room with your vote, these committees will be established immediately. They will be able to work tomorrow. Our only preoccupation is to organize as soon as possible and to go to work without delay.

Who would take the responsibility of adding to the delays? I suppose none of us. But if any delegates think, after the names of the members of each of the

committees are known, that an important addition should be made, that some country's or some man's presence is vital, they will have the right to say so, and there's no reason why we should consider our resolution sacred or unchangeable.

But we must get to work as soon as we can. Think of the immense work before us. President Wilson, in his speech to our body today, had honorable words for those men who came here as crusaders, not to win the war, but to win a cause. Well, it is of the cause that we must think, and we must do our best, whatever procedure we adopt, to make it better as we go along. But let us go to work at once.

As for myself, I have come here ready to sacrifice many of my opinions in order to conciliate, in order to reach the conclusions we all wish for, and I have already sacrificed some of them, done it with joy for the great common cause which has united us here. I hope we all will be inspired by the same spirit. Your Conference officials, in the decisions which they have arrived at and which they have submitted to you, have no desire to be unjust to any one. They do not wish to be unjust to Belgium, or to Bohemia, or to the Serbians, Croats, Slovenes, or any of those who have expressed their opinions here. They simply wish to devise a procedure that will lead to immediate, speedy, useful work. And this is the only conclusion they can arrive at.

### NEW COMMISSIONS CREATED

The following resolution in regard to reparation was adopted by the conference:

That a commission be appointed, which shall comprise not more than three representatives apiece from each of the five great Powers and not more than two representatives apiece from Belgium, Greece, Poland, Rumania, and Serbia, to examine and report:

First—On the amount of reparation which the enemy countries ought to pay.

Second—On what they are capable of paying, and,

Third—On the method, the form, and time within which payment should be made.

A resolution in regard to international legislation on industrial and labor questions was passed. It reads:

That a commission, composed of two representatives apiece from the five great Powers and five representatives to be elected by the other Powers represented at the Peace Conference, be appointed to inquire into the conditions of employment from the international aspect and to consider the international means necessary to secure common action on matters affect-



ing conditions of employment and to recommend the form of a permanent agency to continue such inquiry and consideration in co-operation with and under the direction of the League of Nations.

This resolution was adopted regarding international control of ports, waterways, and railways:

That a commission composed of two representatives apiece from the five great Powers and five representatives of the other Powers be appointed, to inquire and report upon the international régime for ports, waterways, and railways.

After the adoption of these resolutions the session adjourned.

## Staff Personnel of the Conference

### Members and Committees

**T**HE personnel of the Peace Conference as finally perfected was announced Jan. 29 as follows:

Besides Georges Clemenceau, the French Premier, as President, and Secretary Lansing, Premiers Lloyd George of Great Britain, Orlando of Italy, and Saionji of Japan as Vice Presidents, the members are:

Secretary General—M. Dutasta, France.

Secretaries: For the United States—Joseph C. Grew, Minister Plenipotentiary; Leland Harrison, and Colonel U. S. Grant, 3d. For the British Empire—Lieut. Col. Sir Maurice Hankey, Herman Norman, and Eric Phipps. For France—M. P. Gauthier, Minister Plenipotentiary, and M. Debeaux. For Italy—Comte Aldrovandi, Marquis Charles Durazzo, and M. G. Brambilla. For Japan—Sadao Saburi.

Committee on Verification of Powers—Henry White, United States; Arthur Balfour, British Empire; Jules Cambon, France; Marquis Salvago Raggi, Italy, and K. Matsui, Japan.

Committee on Drafting—James Brown Scott, United States; Mr. Hurst, British Empire; M. Fromager, France; Ricci Busatti, Italy, and H. Nagosaka, Japan.

### THE COMMITTEES

Premier Clemenceau on Jan. 26 announced the following committees in conformity with the action of the conference:

Responsibility for the War—Great Britain, Sir Gordon Stewart; France, Captain André Tardieu and Ferdinand Larnaude; Italy, Vittorio Scialoja and Deputy Raimondo; United States, Robert Lansing.

Reparation—United States, B. M. Baruch, John W. Davis, and Vance McCormick; Great Britain, William Morris Hughes, Sir John Simon, and Baron Cunliffe; France, L. L. Klotz, L. P. Locheur, and A. F. Lebrun; Italy, Antonio Salandra and General Badoglio; Japan, Baron Makino and Baron Nobuaki.

International Labor Legislation—United States, E. N. Hurley and Samuel Gom-

pers; Great Britain, George Nicoll Barnes and Ian Malcolm; France, M. Colliard and L. P. Locheur; Italy, Signor Des Planches and Signor Cabrini; Japan, M. Otchian and M. Oka.

Regulation of Ports, Waterways, and Railroads—United States, Henry White; Great Britain, Sir John Simon; France, André Voiss and Albert Claveille; Italy, Signor Grespi and Signor de Marino; Japan, M. Yamakawa and Colonel Sato.

The representatives of the nineteen small Powers met on Jan. 27 and gave full adhesion to the organization formulated by the five great Powers. Jules Cambon, French delegate, and former Ambassador to the United States, presided. The following appointments were made to the various committees:

### LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Belgium, Paul Hymans.

Brazil, Epitacio Pessoa.

China, Wellington Koo, Plenipotentiary.

Serbia, M. R. Vesnitch.

Portugal, Jaime Batalha Reis, Minister Plenipotentiary.

### RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR

Belgium, (not yet appointed.)

Serbia, Slobodan Yovanovitch.

Rumania, Mr. Rosenthal.

Greece, M. Politis.

Poland, (not yet appointed.)

### INTERNATIONAL LABOR LEGISLATION

Belgium, M. Vandervelde and M. Mahaim.

Cuba, A. S. Pustamante.

Poland, (not yet appointed.)

Czechoslovak Republic, M. Benes.

### REGULATION OF PORTS, WATERWAYS, AND RAILROADS

Belgium, (not yet appointed.)

China, H. E. Thomas and C. T. Wang, Plenipotentiary Delegate.

Greece, M. Coromilas.

Serbia, M. Trumbitch.

Uruguay, Carlos Blanco.



# Question of the German Colonies

## Mandate Plan Adopted

**T**HE Supreme Council at its session on Jan. 27 defined a program of work and the constitution of new committees for economic and financial questions as well as questions relating to private and maritime laws. The afternoon session continued the exchange of views on the former German colonies in the Pacific and the Far East. The representatives of the dominions and of China were heard. At the session of the Council on the 28th the question of the disposition of the German colonies in the Far East and the Pacific, and of those in Africa, was continued.

The representatives of the dominions were present at these two sessions, the representatives of China at that in the morning, and the Marquis Salvago Raggi (Italy) at that in the afternoon. In the morning the delegates of Australia, New Zealand, China, and Japan were heard. In the afternoon Henri Simon, French Minister of the Colonies, explained the views of his department on colonial questions. In addition, the fundamental principles of the League of Nations and their application were considered.

While no official announcement was made, it was known that a sharp difference of opinion had arisen regarding the disposition of the colonies, due to the insistence of Australia that the Pacific colonies taken from Germany by Australian troops be ceded outright to Australia, and the existence of treaties between Japan and Great Britain regarding the disposition of captured German possessions.

In the official report of Jan. 29 no reference was made to these differences, the communiqué regarding the day's sessions reading as follows:

The President of the United States, the Premiers, and the Foreign Ministers of the allied and associated Governments and the Japanese representatives held two meetings on Jan. 29. The morning sitting was devoted to hearing reports of delegates who made general statements on the Polish situation and Polish claims. In the afternoon the Czechoslovak delegates gave their views on the ques-

tion of the industrial basin in Silesia situated between Bohemia and Poland.

Since Monday last Mr. Barnes, British Minister without portfolio, has been conferring with prominent British trade unionists on the draft of a scheme for the international regulation of conditions of employment.

The scheme has been closely examined, and the experience of all present at the conference has been freely placed at Mr. Barnes's disposal. Many valuable suggestions have been made, and it is felt that full light has been given to the views of organized British trade unionists.

The conference concluded at noon, Jan. 29, and the draft scheme agreed upon will be submitted to the International Commission on Labor Regulation, which was appointed on Jan. 25 at the Peace Conference.

## CHINA AND JAPAN

A sharp difference also arose between the Chinese and Japanese delegations over the question of Kiao-Chau and the Pacific islands. This was summarized by a correspondent as follows:

After the surrender of the German protectorate on the Chinese seacoast, Japan sent demands to China. China notified Japan that, military operations being over, she intended to declare the war zone ended. Japan responded with a demand that China give assent to all matters upon which the Japanese Government might agree with the German Government relating to the disposition of Germany's rights and concessions in the Province of Shantung. China was warned against making these demands known to any other Power; in addition, Japan's demands included the right to construct a railroad to Weissein and China was not to lease to any other country any territory on the coast of Shantung and must open some cities as commercial ports.

China made a bitter response. It asked the retrocession of Shantung and indemnification for the losses caused by Japan's military operations and demanded that China should participate in any negotiations with Germany over Shantung. Japan's reply was an ultimatum, giving China forty-eight hours to accede.

China finally gave in and signed the agreements, but issued a statement to the world saying that she had acted under constraint. These agreements provided that it should be left to Japan and Ger-



many to dispose of Germany's rights in Shantung, that China should apply to Japan for a loan for the new railway in Shantung, and that China should alienate no territory on the coast to any foreign Power.

It was agreed further that Kiaochow should be left to the disposal of Japan and that it would be restored by the Japanese to China on the condition that it be opened as a commercial port; that concessions under the exclusive jurisdiction of Japan should be established at a place to be designated by Japan; that an international concession should be established if the Powers chose, and that the disposal of the buildings and property of Germany was to be arranged between China and Japan before the restoration was made.

The Chinese assert that this agreement was obtained under a threat of hostilities and does not constitute a valid right. China announced that she would resist any encroachment in Shantung, and the controversy was one of the critical ones before the Peace Conference.

#### PROVISIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

At the meeting of the Supreme Council on Jan. 30, the subject of the colonies was thus referred to in the official communiqué:

The exchange of views continued on the German colonies in the Pacific and in Africa, in the presence of the representatives of the dominions and of M. Simon, French Minister of the Colonies, and of the Marquis Salvago Raggi, [Italy.]

In the afternoon satisfactory provisional arrangements were reached for dealing with the German colonies and the occupied territory in Turkey in Asia.

At the afternoon meeting the Belgian delegates were present. Messrs. Hymans, Van den Heuvel, and Vandervelde were accompanied by M. Ortz, who explained the Belgian point of view concerning the Congo.

It was further decided that the military representatives of the allied and associated Powers at Versailles should be asked to meet at once and present a report as to the most equitable and economical distribution among those Powers of the burden of supplying the military forces for the purpose of maintaining order in the Turkish Empire pending the decisions of the Peace Conference regarding the government of Turkish territory.

#### THE MANDATE PLAN

The "satisfactory provisional arrangements" referred to in the official report

consisted in a tentative agreement, as it later developed, to incorporate in the constitution of the League of Nations a plan for administering the colonies under a system of "mandates" by which the League should assign them to various individual Powers for administration. The basic idea was that the colonies should be governed by mandate for the benefit of their own people. The most formidable opposition to the plan came from Premier Hughes, who insisted on the outright annexation of New Guinea to Australia. President Wilson and Premier Hughes had a sharp debate over the proposition, the former stoutly arguing for the mandate plan. The subsequent incorporation of the modified mandatory plan in the constitution of the League of Nations was a compromise, the mandate from the League of Nations being practically a delegation of administrative authority to the particular States over the colonies nearest to them.

#### BALKAN PROBLEMS

At the meeting of the Supreme Council Jan. 31 the delegates of the great Powers, composing the Interallied Commission to Poland, were introduced, to state the conclusions which they had reached after hearing the representatives of Poland and the Czechoslovak Republic regarding the provisional exploitation of the industrial district of Teschen.

After listening to the reports made by M. Noulens and by General Gothe, in the name of their colleagues, the allied Ministers decided to send to Teschen allied delegates for the purpose of assuring a peaceful exploitation in agreement with the Czechs and the Poles, pending a territorial settlement of the question by the Conference.

A statement of the views of the respective interests and rights of Rumania and Serbia in the Banat of Temesvar was then heard. M. Bratiano and M. Mishu represented the Rumanian Government, and the Serbian delegation was composed of M. Pashitch, M. Vesnitch, and M. Trumbitch.

The Rumanian and Serbian differences, it was understood, were being composed, and a better feeling was prevailing between the Czechs and Poles and between



the Yugoslavs and Italians regarding boundary questions.

It was definitely announced on the 31st that at the meeting of the council on the 30th, when an agreement was reached regarding the mandate plan for the colonies, President Wilson had told the members of the Supreme Council that he would not be party to a division of Germany's colonial possessions among the Powers which then held them, and then become party to a League of Nations which, in effect, would guarantee their title. There were inferences that the President even referred to a peace of "loot."

In the discussions President Wilson contended in no uncertain terms that to divide the colonies among the Entente nations would be in direct contravention of the "Fourteen Points," which were accepted as a basis of peace. Such a division, he is said to have added, would also violate the principles of the League of Nations as laid down at the Peace Conference on the 25th.

#### THE COLONIAL PLAN

On Feb. 1 an outline was made public of the accord reached by the Supreme Council concerning the disposal of the German colonies, which proved a correct forecast, as it was precisely confirmed by the constitution of the League of Nations, made public Feb. 15. This outline was as follows:

The allied and associated Powers were agreed that the German colonies shall not be returned to Germany, owing, primarily, to mismanagement, cruelty, and the use of these colonies as submarine bases.

The conquered regions of Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Arabia are to be detached from the Turkish Empire.

Provision is made whereby the well-being and development of backward colonial regions are regarded as the sacred trust of civilization, over which the League of Nations exercises supervisory care. The administration or tutelage of these regions would be intrusted to the more advanced nations, who would act as mandataries in behalf of the League of Nations.

These mandates would not be uniform, but vary according to the degree of development of the colonial region and its approach to the stage of self-government. The mandates in Palestine, Syria, and

other portions of Turkey, where well-developed civilization exists, would be comparatively light and would probably permit of provisional recognition of the independence of these communities.

On the other hand, colonies like those in Central Africa would require a mandatory with large powers of administration, responsible for the suppression of slave trade, liquor, ammunition and arms traffic, and the prevention of exercise of military authority on the part of the natives except for native police purposes.

Other colonies and localities, such as those in German Southwest Africa and some of the South Pacific islands, have such sparse and scattered populations and are so separated from other communities that the laws of the mandatory country would probably prevail in these regions.

The mandataries would report at stated intervals to the League of Nations concerning the manner in which a colony was being administered.

The foregoing general outline indicated on broad lines the terms whereby the conflicting views were finally reconciled and a common agreement was reached, acceptable to all the great and colonial Powers.

#### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COMMISSION

The opening meeting of the League of Nations Commission was held in Colonel House's apartments in Paris, Feb. 3. President Wilson presided. There were present at the committee meeting: For the United States—President Wilson, Colonel House, and Mr. Miller, technical expert; for Great Britain—Lord Robert Cecil and General Smuts; for France—Léon Bourgeois and Ferdinand Lar-naude; for Italy—Premier Orlando; for Japan—Baron Chinda; also delegates from Belgium, Serbia, Brazil, Portugal, and China.

President Wilson greeted the members and took a leading part in the discussion. This was no longer general, but specific, as the meeting had before it the printed text of the agreed plan for the formation of the League. The text was in English, as had been decided upon at a previous meeting between President Wilson, Lord Robert Cecil, General Smuts, and Premier Orlando.

There was a general discussion in which all the delegates participated.



## OTHER COMMISSIONS

On Feb. 3 three other important committees held their first formal meetings. Louis Klotz, French Minister of Finance, was elected President of the Committee on Reparation. Premier Hughes of Australia and M. Vanderheuvcl of Belgium were elected Vice Presidents. Robert Lansing, American Secretary of State, was unanimously elected President of the Committee on Responsibility for the War. In proposing Mr. Lansing's name, Captain André Tardieu, the French member of the committee, said that before regulating a peace of justice it was necessary to impose penalties upon the authors of the aggressions which had brought death to millions.

The work of the committee, he explained, would be, first, to study the facts which would establish the guilt of those responsible for premediated violation of treaties and international law, and, second, to fix the penalties which would be defined and applied.

This statement was issued:

The initial meeting of the Commission on the Responsibility for the War and Its Conduct was held today at 3 o'clock at the Ministry of the Interior, and was attended by the delegates of the Powers represented on the commission.

Robert Lansing, Secretary of State and

chief representative for the United States, was chosen President of the commission, and Sir Gordon Stewart of the British delegation and Senator Scialoja of the Italian delegation were chosen Vice Presidents. M. de la Pradelle was appointed secretary of the commission.

It was decided to appoint three sub-committees, two for the examination of questions of law and one for the examination of facts. The following persons were named as a committee of three to nominate members of the above-mentioned sub-committees and to determine the mandate under which the sub-committees in question will act: W. F. Massey of the British delegation, M. Tardieu of the French delegation, and M. Politis, Greek delegate.

The Commission on Ports, Waterways, and Railways also held its first meeting. The meeting was called to order by M. Clavelle, French Minister of Public Works. On his motion Signor Crispi, Italian Minister of Supplies, was named as Chairman and M. Sirton of Belgium Vice Chairman. The Supreme Council transmitted a request for the admission of members of the smaller nationalities to this committee, which accordingly added a Czech, a Portuguese, and a Pole to membership. The French and British presented a program including recognition of the general principle of the right of nations to control international waterways and international railways, which was accepted by the commission.

## Shaping the League of Nations Plan

## Acute Differences Overcome

THE Commission of the Society of Nations held daily sessions, beginning Feb. 4, and made steady progress. As the meetings progressed it was clear that there were sharp differences, the chief contention arising over the question of the power to be delegated to the League to enforce its decisions. All the reports indicated that the American and British delegations were in accord on a modified form of authority, while the supporters of a League with power to enforce its decrees by arms were led by the French delegation. The clash of ideas was such as to cause apprehension at times that there would be

no agreement. The most acute differences arose on Feb. 9, when Premier Clemenceau issued an appeal to the American people through The Associated Press, which was construed by many correspondents as an attempt to reach the American public over the head of President Wilson. This appeal is printed on Page 405. It was vigorously applauded by the French press and was followed by a general expression among French journals of serious apprehension that the pacific attitude of President Wilson would cheat France of the fruits of victory and place the country in perpetual peril from a revived and



strengthened Germany. Some of these protests went to extremes, until at length an official hint was issued to the effect that if the Paris press were not tempered the congress would be removed to another city.

After this outburst the atmosphere was quickly cleared and a better feeling prevailed, which resulted on the 13th in a compromise agreement on the main features of the constitution of the League, which was finally presented to the Plenary Council on the 14th by President Wilson as a unanimous report. The chief factor which calmed the troubled waters was the agreement by the Supreme Council on new armistice terms to be imposed on Germany, of so drastic a character that the French and Belgian delegates felt that their execution would prevent any possibility of Germany reopening hostilities or resisting the terms of peace.

### SUCCESS OF THE LEAGUE

A semi-official statement was made Feb. 14 through The Associated Press, in which the development of the League of Nations plan was reviewed. It was as follows:

While there was unanimity as to the desirability of a League of Nations, it soon developed that some delegates, skeptical of its immediate efficiency, desired to maintain the old order of balances of power and protected frontiers until the new system had demonstrated its capacity to meet the needs of peace-loving nations. Patient endeavor and many long sessions of the Supreme Council itself, and afterward of the special commission created to deal with the subject, were necessary to establish to the satisfaction of these threatened dissenters the impossibility of continuing the old order while installing the new.

It was only within the last week that the difficulties facing the League of Nations were overcome, although with some misgivings. The doubting nations were induced to try the experiment of relying upon the honor and common interest of the other nations to insure the success of the project. Then there was the difference over the question of mandatories for backward peoples. Rather heated arguments developed at times, but these differences also were adjusted with unanimity in the end.

Various big issues presented themselves, some of which were skillfully diverted to

commissions which are to report afterward to the League of Nations, while others were rather suddenly disapproved in the light of the development of the plan for the League of Nations.

Of such was the vexed question of freedom of the seas that jeopardized the support of Great Britain. It was realized that with a perfect League of Nations there would be no neutrals, and that consequently no questions could arise as to freedom of the seas in time of war, while in time of peace equitable relations between nations were guaranteed by special provisions of the covenant.

### THE ENEMY STATES

Finally, after these discussions were over, it can be stated that no hard feelings remained. There was absolute unanimity, so far as the special commission was concerned, and those nations which at first had doubted the efficiency of the project came out of the discussions in an attitude of its firmest advocates.

Looking to the future, the special commission attaches much importance to the provision made for the admission to the League of neutral and enemy States.

The enemy States are known to be anxious to adhere, but the commission has taken every precaution to make sure that they enter with proper motives and prepared to live up to the obligations of the League.

The point was made that such adhesion should be encouraged, as it was highly desirable, having at heart the interest of the whole world, that the industries of enemy States and neutral countries, which suffered from the blockade, be set in motion at the earliest possible moment.

This decision was not based upon sympathy for Germany, but upon the conviction that the safety of Continental Europe, and perhaps of the world, depended upon turning the German population into ways of industry, so that it might be able to produce goods to pay off the enormous indemnities which are to be imposed upon it. It was the conviction that otherwise Germany might soon drift into the condition of Russia, and that there would be no responsible Government with which the peace treaty could be concluded. In that case it would be necessary for the Peace Congress to continue indefinitely in existence, awaiting the social and economic reorganization that might follow an era of Bolshevism lasting, perhaps, for years.

Russia itself was regarded by the delegates as the great problem yet to be settled, although the hope was expressed that the Prinkipo conference would be realized and something like peaceful relations restored between the factions. It was regarded as necessary at the outset to convince the Bolshevik elements that the Peace Conference had no desire to



force upon them settlements of debts and other such matters as conditions of a successful conference.

#### THE FINAL SESSION

The final session of the League of Nations Commission was held Feb. 13. The French delegate presented a clause for an interallied military force to compel peace; it was defeated, receiving only two affirmative votes, those of the French and Czechoslovaks.

The Japanese delegation presented an amendment providing that racial discrimination should not be tolerated in immigration laws. Several delegates urged that this would open such a large question that great delay might ensue, and the matter was dropped without a vote.

At this session the constitution as finally drafted was unanimously adopted by the committee, and President Wilson was designated to present the completed plan to the Plenary Council on Feb. 14, and read it in person.

#### PRESENTED TO THE CONFERENCE

The plenary session of the Conference was held on the afternoon of Feb. 14. After reading the draft, President Wilson followed with a speech in support.

Lord Robert Cecil, head of the British delegation on the League of Nations, followed in an earnest speech. It was a good omen, said Lord Robert, that the document had been laid before the world before being finally enacted, so that people everywhere could advise upon and criticise it. The problem had been one of great difficulty, for it was to preserve the peace of the world with the least possible interference with national sovereignty.

The results accomplished, he continued, embraced two main principles—first, no nation shall go to war until every other means of settlement shall be fully and fairly tried; second, no nation shall forcibly seek to disturb a territory's integrity or interfere with the political independence of the nations of the world.

These were the great principles, but later another great principle must be laid down, namely, that no nation shall retain armaments fit only for aggressive purposes.

Dr. Vittorio Orlando, the Italian Prime

Minister, expressed deep satisfaction at having collaborated in what was going to be one of the greatest documents of history. "Thus born out of the pains of war," the Premier exclaimed, "this is a document of freedom and right which represents the redemption of humanity by sacrifice."

#### VIEWS OF OTHER DELEGATES

Léon Bourgeois of the French delegation spoke in behalf of France on the good-will which, he said, had prevailed in formulating the project. At the same time, he said, the French delegates reserved the right to present their views on certain details of the plan, as a whole, which was a work of right and justice, and knew no distinction between great and small States.

Dangers to States were not all equal, M. Bourgeois said. Some States, like France and Belgium, were especially exposed and required additional guarantees. He urged a system of permanent inspection of existing armaments and forces as one means of avoiding a renewal of warfare.

Baron Makino of Japan, after approving the high purposes of the League, added that a proposal would be submitted later, which, it was hoped, would receive favorable attention. The nature of this proposal he did not make known, but it is supposed to refer to an amendment abolishing racial distinctions in international affairs. George Nicoll Barnes, British Minister of Labor, and Premier Venizelos of Greece also spoke approvingly of the League of Nations. Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, the Chinese delegate, gave China's adherence to the League.

The Arabian delegate pointed out that the constitution of the League recognized the right of self-determination, but said that certain secret treaties were in existence that would prevent this self-determination. He therefore hoped that such treaties as affected Asiatic Turkey would be declared by the Powers null and void.

Premier Hughes of Australia asked if full opportunity was to be given for discussion of the proposed League, and when. Premier Clemenceau replied that President Wilson had presented the docu-



ment with the expectation that there would be the fullest opportunity for discussion, but when this would occur would be determined later.

The conference adjourned at 7 o'clock, and President Wilson hastened homeward to prepare for the journey to the United States.

## President Wilson's Comment on the League Constitution

**P**RESIDENT WILSON, after reading the constitution of the League of Nations to the Plenary Conference, spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman: I have the honor, and assume it a very great privilege, of reporting in the name of the commission constituted by this Conference on the formulation of a plan for the League of Nations. I am happy to say that it is a unanimous report, a unanimous report from the representatives of fourteen nations—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, China, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, and Serbia.

I think it will be serviceable and interesting if I, with your permission, read the document, as the only report we have to make.

President Wilson then read the draft. When he reached Article XV. and had read through the second paragraph, the President paused and said:

I pause to point out that a misconception might arise in connection with one of the sentences I have just read: "If any party shall refuse to comply, the council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations."

A case in point, a purely hypothetical case, is this: Suppose there is in the possession of a particular Power a piece of territory, or some other substantial thing in dispute, to which it is claimed that it is not entitled. Suppose that the matter is submitted to the Executive Council for recommendation as to the settlement of the dispute, diplomacy having failed, and suppose that the decision is in favor of the party which claims the subject matter of dispute, as against the party which has the subject matter in dispute.

Then, if the party in possession of the subject matter in dispute merely sits still and does nothing, it has accepted the decision of the council in the sense that it makes no resistance, but something must be done to see that it surrenders the subject matter in dispute.

In such a case, the only case contemplated, it is provided that the Executive Council may then consider what steps will be necessary to oblige the party against whom judgment has been given to comply with the decisions of the council.

### CASE FOR USE OF FORCE

After having read Article XIX. President Wilson also stopped and said:

Let me say that before being embodied in this document this was the subject matter of a very careful discussion by representatives of the five greater parties, and that their unanimous conclusion is the matter embodied in this article.

After having read the entire document, President Wilson continued as follows:

It gives me pleasure to add to this formal reading of the result of our labors that the character of the discussion which occurred at the sittings of the commission was not only of the most constructive but of the most encouraging sort. It was obvious throughout our discussions that, although there were subjects upon which there were individual differences of judgment with regard to the method by which our objects should be obtained, there were practically at no point any serious differences of opinion or motive as to the objects which we were seeking.

Indeed, while these debates were not made the opportunity for the expression of enthusiasm and sentiment, I think the other members of the commission will agree with me that there was an undertone of high respect and of enthusiasm for the thing we were trying to do which was heartening throughout every meeting, because we felt that in a way this Conference did intrust unto us the expression of one of its highest and most important purposes, to see to it that the concord of the world in the future with regard to the objects of justice should not be subject to doubt or uncertainty, that the co-operation of the great body of nations should be assured in the maintenance of peace upon terms of honor and of international obligations.

### IRRESISTIBLE UNION OF WILLS

The compulsion of that task was constantly upon us, and at no point was there shown the slightest desire to do anything but suggest the best means to accomplish that great object. There is very great significance, therefore, in the fact that the result was reached unanimously.

Fourteen nations were represented, among them all of those Powers which for con-



venience we have called the great Powers, and among the rest a representation of the greatest variety of circumstances and interests. So that I think we are justified in saying that the significance of the result, therefore, has the deepest of all meanings, the union of wills in a common purpose, a union of wills which cannot be resisted, and which, I dare say, no nation will run the risk of attempting to resist.

Now as to the character of the document. While it has consumed some time to read this document, I think you will see at once that it is very simple, and in nothing so simple as in the structure which it suggests for a League of Nations—a body of delegates, an Executive Council, and a permanent secretariat.

When it came to the question of determining the character of the representation in the body of delegates, we were all aware of a feeling which is current throughout the world. Inasmuch as I am stating it in the presence of the official representatives of the various Governments here present, including myself, I may say that there is a universal feeling that the world cannot rest satisfied with merely official guidance. There has reached us through many channels the feeling that if the deliberating body of the League of Nations was merely to be a body of officials representing the various Governments, the peoples of the world would not be sure that some of the mistakes which preoccupied officials had admittedly made might not be repeated.

It was impossible to conceive a method or an assembly so large and various as to be really representative of the great body of the peoples of the world, because, as I roughly reckon it, we represent, as we sit around this table, more than twelve hundred million people. You cannot have a representative assembly of twelve hundred million people, but if you leave it to each Government to have, if it pleases, one or two or three representatives, though only with a single vote, it may vary its representation from time to time, not only, but it may originate the choice of its several representatives.

Therefore, we thought that this was a proper and a very prudent concession to the practically universal opinion of plain men everywhere that they wanted the door left open to a variety of representation, instead of being confined to a single official body with which they could or might not find themselves in sympathy.

#### PROVISION FOR DISCUSSION

And you will notice that this body has unlimited rights of discussion—I mean of discussion of anything that falls within the field of international relations—and that it is especially agreed that war or international misunderstandings, or anything that may lead to friction or trouble, is everybody's business, because it may affect the peace of the world.

And in order to safeguard the popular power so far as we could of this representative body, it is provided, you will notice, that when a subject is submitted, it is not to arbitration, but to discussion by the Executive Council. It can, upon the initiative of either of the parties to the dispute, be drawn out of the Executive Council into the larger forum of the general body of delegates, because through this instrument we are depending primarily and chiefly upon one great force, and this is the moral force of the public opinion of the world—the pleasing and clarifying and compelling influences of publicity, so that intrigues can no longer have their coverts, so that designs that are sinister can at any time be drawn into the open, so that those things that are destroyed by the light may be promptly destroyed by the overwhelming light of the universal expression of the condemnation of the world.

Armed force is in the background in this program, but it is in the background, and if the moral force of the world will not suffice, the physical force of the world shall. But that is the last resort, because this is intended as a constitution of peace, not as a league of war.

The simplicity of the document seems to me to be one of its chief virtues, because, speaking for myself, I was unable to see the variety of circumstances with which the League would have to deal. I was unable, therefore, to plan all the machinery that might be necessary to meet the differing and unexpected contingencies. Therefore, I should say of this document that it is not a straitjacket, but vehicle of life.

#### A LIVING THING IS BORN

A living thing is born, and we must see to it what clothes we put on it. It is not a vehicle of power, but a vehicle in which power may be varied at the discretion of those who exercise it and in accordance with the changing circumstances of the time. And yet, while it is elastic, while it is general in its terms, it is definite in the one thing that we were called upon to make definite. It is a definite guarantee of peace. It is a definite guarantee by word against aggression. It is a definite guarantee against the things which have just come near bringing the whole structure of civilization into ruin.

Its purposes do not for a moment lie vague. Its purposes are declared, and its powers are unmistakable. It is not in contemplation that this should be merely a league to secure the peace of the world. It is a league which can be used for co-operation in any international matter. That is the significance of the provision introduced concerning labor. There are many ameliorations of labor conditions which can be effected by conference and discussion. I anticipate that there will be a very great usefulness in the Bureau of Labor which it is contemplated shall be set up by the League. Men and women and children



who work have been in the background through long ages, and sometimes seemed to be forgotten, while Governments have had their watchful and suspicious eyes upon the manoeuvres of one another, while the thought of statesmen has been about structural action and the larger transactions of commerce and finance.

Now, if I may believe the picture which I see, there comes into the foreground the great body of the laboring people of the world, the men and women and children upon whom the great burden of sustaining the world must from day to day fall, whether we wish it to do so or not, people who go to bed tired and wake up without the stimulation of lively hope. These people will be drawn into the field of international consultation and help, and will be among the wards of the combined Governments of the world. There is, I take leave to say, a very great step in advance in the mere conception of that.

Then, as you will notice, there is an imperative article concerning the publicity of all international agreements. Henceforth no member of the League can claim any agreement valid which it has not registered with the Secretary General, in whose office, of course, it will be subject to the examination of anybody representing a member of the League. And the duty is laid upon the Secretary General to publish every document of that sort at the earliest possible time.

I suppose most persons who have not been conversant with the business of foreign affairs do not realize how many hundreds of these agreements are made in a single year, and how difficult it might be to publish the more unimportant of them immediately, how uninteresting it would be to most of the world to publish them immediately, but even they must be published just as soon as it is possible for the Secretary General to publish them.

### PROTECTION OF THE HELPLESS

Then there is a feature about this covenant which, to my mind, is one of the greatest and most satisfactory advances that have been made. We are done with annexations of helpless peoples, meant in some instances by some Powers to be used merely for exploitation. We recognize in the most solemn manner that the helpless and undeveloped peoples of the world, being in that condition, put an obligation upon us to look after their interests primarily before we use them for our interests, and that in all cases of this sort hereafter it shall be the duty of the League to see that the nations who are assigned as the tutors and advisers and directors of these peoples shall look to their interests and their development before they look to the interests and desires of the mandatory nation itself.

There has been no greater advance than this, gentlemen. If you look back upon the history of the world you will see how helpless peoples have too often been a prey to

Powers that had no conscience in the matter. It has been one of the many distressing revelations of recent years that the great Power which has just been, happily, defeated put intolerable burdens and injustice upon the helpless people of some of the colonies which it annexed to itself, that its interest was rather their extermination than their development, that the desire was to possess their land for European purposes and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in these places to the next higher level.

Now the world, expressing its conscience in law, says there is an end of that, that our consciences shall be settled to this thing. States will be picked out which have already shown that they can exercise a conscience in this matter, and under their tutelage the helpless peoples of the world will come into a new light and into a new hope.

### A PRACTICAL DOCUMENT

So I think I can say of this document that it is at one and the same time a practical document and a human document. There is a pulse of sympathy in it. There is a compulsion of conscience throughout it. It is practical, and yet it is intended to purify, to rectify, to elevate. And I want to say that, so far as my observation instructs me, this is in one sense a belated document. I believe that the conscience of the world has long been prepared to express itself in some such way. We are not just now discovering our sympathy for these people and our interest in them. We are simply expressing it, for it has long been felt, and in the administration of the affairs of more than one of the great States represented here—so far as I know, all of the great States that are represented here—that humane impulse has already expressed itself in their dealings with their colonies whose peoples were yet at a low stage of civilization.

We have had many instances of colonies lifted into the sphere of complete self-government. This is not the discovery of a principle. It is the universal application of a principle. It is the agreement of the great nations which have tried to live by these standards in their separate administrations to unite in seeing that their common force and their common thought and intelligence are lent to this great and humane enterprise. I think it is an occasion, therefore, for the most profound satisfaction that this humane decision should have been reached in a matter for which the world has long been waiting and until a very recent period thought that it was still too early to hope.

Many terrible things have come out of this war, gentlemen, but some very beautiful things have come out of it. Wrong has been defeated, but the rest of the world has been more conscious than it ever was before of the majority of right. People that were suspicious of one another can now live as friends and comrades in a single family, and desire



to do so. The miasma of distrust, of intrigue, is cleared away. Men are looking eye to eye and saying: "We are brothers and

have a common purpose. We did not realize it before, but now we do realize it, and this is our covenant of friendship."

## Text of the Proposed Constitution of the League of Nations

**F**OLLOWING is the text of the covenant and draft of the Constitution of the League of Nations as read by President Wilson to the plenary session of the Peace Conference:

### COVENANT

**PREAMBLE**—*In order to promote international co-operation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the Powers signatory to this covenant adopt this Constitution of the League of Nations:*

**ARTICLE I.**—The action of the high contracting parties under the terms of this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of a meeting of a body of delegates representing the high contracting parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals of an Executive Council, and of a permanent international secretariat to be established at the seat of the League.

**ART. II.**—Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at stated intervals and from time to time, as occasion may require, for the purpose of dealing with matters within the sphere of action of the League. Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at the seat of the League, or at such other places as may be found convenient, and shall consist of representatives of the high contracting parties. Each of the high contracting parties shall have one vote, but may have not more than three representatives.

**ART. III.**—The Executive Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of four other States, members of the League. The selection of these four States shall be made by the body of delegates on such principles and in such manner as they think fit. Pending the appointment of these representatives of the other States, representatives of — shall be members of the Executive Council.

Meetings of the Council shall be held from time to time as occasion may require, and

at least once a year, at whatever place may be decided on, or, failing any such decision, at the seat of the League, and any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world may be dealt with at such meetings.

Invitations shall be sent to any Power to attend a meeting of the council at which such matters directly affecting its interests are to be discussed, and no decision taken at any meeting will be binding on such Powers unless so invited.

**ART. IV.**—All matters of procedure at meetings of the body of delegates or the Executive Council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the body of delegates or the Executive Council, and may be decided by a majority of the States represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the body of delegates and of the Executive Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

**ART. V.**—The permanent secretariat of the League shall be established at —, which shall constitute the seat of the League. The secretariat shall comprise such secretaries and staff as may be required, under the general direction and control of a Secretary General of the League, who shall be chosen by the Executive Council. The secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General subject to confirmation by the Executive Council.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the States members of the League, in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

**ART. VI.**—Representatives of the high contracting parties and officials of the League, when engaged in the business of the League, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities, and the buildings occupied by the League or its officials, or by representatives attending its meetings, shall enjoy the benefits of extraterritoriality.

**ART. VII.**—Admission to the League of States, not signatories to the covenant and not named in the protocol hereto as States to be invited to adhere to the covenant, requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the States represented in the body of



delegates, and shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies.

No State shall be admitted to the League unless it is able to give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations and unless it shall conform to such principles as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its naval and military forces and armaments.

**ART. VIII.**—The high contracting parties recognize the principle that the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety, and the enforcement by common action of international obligations, having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, and the Executive Council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction. The Executive Council shall also determine for the consideration and action of the several Governments what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the program of disarmament; and these limits, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the Executive Council.

The high contracting parties agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections, and direct the Executive Council to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The high contracting parties undertake in no way to conceal from each other the condition of such of their industries as are capable of being adapted to warlike purposes or the scale of their armaments, and agree that there shall be full and frank interchange of information as to their military and naval programs.

**ART. IX.**—A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the League on the execution of the provisions of Article VIII. and on military and naval questions generally.

**ART. X.**—The high contracting parties shall undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all States members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Executive Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.

**ART. XI.**—Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the high contracting parties or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the League, and the high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

It is hereby also declared and agreed to be the friendly right of each of the high contracting parties to draw the attention of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council to any circumstance affecting international intercourse which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

**ART. XII.**—The high contracting parties agree that should disputes arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy they will in no case resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Executive Council, and until three months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the Executive Council, and that they will not even then resort to war as against a member of the League which complies with the award of the arbitrators or the recommendation of the Executive Council.

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the recommendation of the Executive Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

**ART. XIII.**—The high contracting parties agree that whenever any dispute or difficulty shall arise between them, which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole matter to arbitration. For this purpose the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them. The high contracting parties agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered. In the event of any failure to carry out the award the Executive Council shall propose what steps can best be taken to give effect thereto.

**ART. XIV.**—The Executive Council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice, and this court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognize as suitable for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article.

**ART. XV.**—If there should arise between States, members of the League, any dispute likely to lead to rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the high contracting parties agree that they will refer the matter to the Executive Council; either party to the dispute may give notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties agree to communicate to the Secretary General as promptly as possible statements of their case, all the relevant facts and papers, and the Executive Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.



Where the efforts of the council lead to the settlement of the dispute, a statement shall be published, indicating the nature of the dispute and the terms of settlement, together with such explanations as may be appropriate. If the dispute has not been settled, a report by the council shall be published, setting forth with all necessary facts and explanations the recommendation which the council think just and proper for the settlement of the dispute. If the report is unanimously agreed to by the members of the council, other than the parties to the dispute, the high contracting parties agree that they will not go to war with any party which complies with the recommendations, and that if any party shall refuse so to comply the council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations. If no such unanimous report can be made it shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements, indicating what they believe to be the facts, and containing the reasons which they consider to be just and proper.

The Executive Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the body of delegates. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request must be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute. In a case referred to the body of delegates, all the provisions of this article, and of Article XII., relating to the action and powers of the Executive Council, shall apply to the action and powers of the body of delegates.

**ART. XVI.**—Should any of the high contracting parties break or disregard its covenants under Article XII. it shall thereby ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League, which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Executive Council in such case to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The high contracting parties agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which may be taken under this article in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State and that they will afford passage through their territory to the forces of any

of the high contracting parties who are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

**ART. XVII.**—In the event of dispute between one State member of the League and another State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the high contracting parties agree that the State or States, not members of the League, shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Executive Council may deem just, and upon acceptance of any such invitation, the above provisions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the League.

Upon such invitation being given the Executive Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances and merits of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

In the event of a power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of the League, which in the case of a State member of the League would constitute a breach of Article XII., the provisions of Article XVI. shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, the Executive Council may take such action and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

**ART. XVIII.**—The high contracting parties agree that the League shall be intrusted with general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest.

**ART. XIX.**—To those colonies and territories which, as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the constitution of the League.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations, who by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the



territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities, formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire, have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory power.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory, subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific Isles, which, owing to the sparseness of the population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the mandatory State and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory States as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the mandatory State shall render to the League an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration, to be exercised by the mandatory State, shall, if not previously agreed upon by the high contracting parties in each case, be explicitly defined by the Executive Council in a special act or charter.

The high contracting parties further agree to establish at the seat of the League a mandatory commission to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatory powers, and to assist the League in insuring the observance of the terms of all mandates.

**ART. XX.**—The high contracting parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own

countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend; and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the League a permanent bureau of labor.

**ART. XXI.**—The high contracting parties agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the League to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all States members of the League, having in mind, among other things, special arrangements with regard to the necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918.

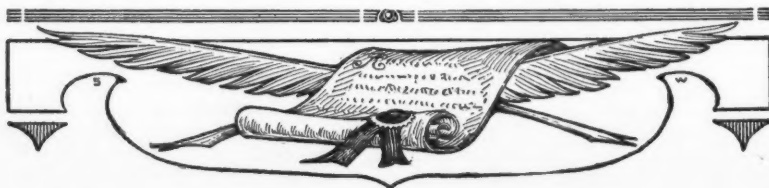
**ART. XXII.**—The high contracting parties agree to place under the control of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties, if the parties to such treaties consent. Furthermore, they agree that all such international bureaus to be constituted in future shall be placed under control of the League.

**ART. XXIII.**—The high contracting parties agree that every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any State member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretary General and as soon as possible published by him, and that no such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

**ART. XXIV.**—It shall be the right of the body of delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by States members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and of international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

**ART. XXV.**—The high contracting parties severally agree that the present covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly engage that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof. In case any of the Powers signatory hereto or subsequently admitted to the League shall, before becoming a party to this covenant, have undertaken any obligations which are inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such Power to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

**ART. XXVI.**—Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the body of delegates.





## Premier Clemenceau's Appeal to America

**T**HE following address to the people of the United States was made by Premier Clemenceau on Feb. 9, 1919, through The Associated Press:

I lived in the United States in my young and formative days. Perhaps, therefore, I may be indulged to say a few words to our allies on the other side of the Atlantic. Not by way of advice or propaganda, but frankly as friend to friend.

The friendship between our peoples which has subsisted for a century and a half is a very beautiful thing. The like of it has never existed for the same length of time between any other two peoples. This cordiality, cemented by our contact during the war, must endure in closer measure hereafter. To this end our minds must meet.

The entrance of America into the great war was full of dramatic interest. The application of nation-wide conscription without the slightest disturbance, the universal self-denial to supply us with food and all other requirements, the unity of purpose, and the amazing energy of 110,000,000 people of so varying and complex a character, challenged our admiration and gratitude in such fashion as no one but ourselves can know.

And the way the American soldiers fought! Nothing could have been finer. Inspired by the holiest ideals, I may say transfigured, they entered upon their task with all the determination, all the fervor, all the spiritual purpose of the old-time Crusaders. They did work! France might have died. She would not have surrendered. But do not mistake me. I do not mean to minimize the importance of the American military aid, nor of the American Red Cross, nor the Salvation Army, nor any of the helpful agencies. There never has been in all the world's history so perfect a co-ordination of the holy purpose of the righteous-minded inhabitants of the earth.

And now the war is won. The world is made safe for democracy, for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, as Jefferson said in the American Declaration of Independence. And the future is before us. What has it in store?

### FAITH IN AMERICANS

I am told that some of these gallant American soldiers, who lived in trenches, slept in dugouts, and burrowed in the mud in devastated and war-torn France, when they crossed the Rhine and in an undevastated land found clean beds and baths, rather regret that they fought on the side of freedom and would rather have fought on the side of the murdering Germans. I do not believe it. I am sure there is no American soldier who does not recognize that France, the battlefield of the war, could not give him the comforts that Germany, undevastated,

was able to. I do not and will not believe so meanly of a single one of the brilliant warriors who came from the States to our aid in the great struggle for civilization against savagery. It is incredible. It is the tragedy of the war that devastated France could not give them the comforts that unbroken Germany could.

I believe there is some criticism that there have been overcharges by the French for food and other things. Well, there are things to be said about that. First, for many years the Americans have been coming to Europe and with abundant means and great generosity have been spoiling our people. They have paid for everything with a bounteous hand. As a result, they have taught our people, who were willing pupils, that they were very rich and very, very generous. It was but human that our people should expect much from the Americans.

It is only fair to say that in every case where the attention of the French Government has been brought to a case of extortion an earnest and, I think, effective, effort has been made to stop it. Compared with the United States France is a small country and limited in her resources. Necessarily she is provident, perhaps unpleasantly careful, I would say; not miserly nor certainly intentionally extortionate. But also you must know that all the time our own French people have paid the same prices for what they bought that our American friends have.

Throughout the war our relations with the American Army have been most cordial, and your Treasury officials will assure you, I am sure, that there has always been a spirit of generosity on both sides. Any suggestion that we have asked payment for trenches or the burial places of your brave soldiers is atrocious. For all future ages the graves of American soldiers will be in the tender and sacred keeping of our grateful people.

I have said that the war is won. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that there is a lull in the storm. At least it is as well to face squarely all the possibilities.

### MEANT TO EXTERMINATE FRANCE

Recent disclosures have enabled us to look deeper into the purposes of the enemy than we could heretofore. It was not purely a dream of military domination on the part of Prussia. It was a definite, calculated conspiracy to exterminate France, as well industrially and commercially as in a military sense. In this effort the German bankers and manufacturers joined their General Staff. The exposures of Dr. Mühlön of the Krupp Works and of Kurt Eisner at the Berne Socialist Conference make this clear.

And this fact explains many of the activities of the German Army which we were not able to understand. We can now see why they stole the machinery from our factories,



why they destroyed the coal mines of Lens, why there was all the wanton devastation of French territory, even when they were in retreat. It was thought to be a part of their tactics of military frightfulness. Instead, we can see now that it was a part of their deliberate commercial design.

And in this phase of their war-making effort they have not been altogether unsuccessful. The industrial life of France has been so wrecked that its resuscitation is most difficult, while by reason of her military surrender Germany has been able to save her factories intact and ready for immediate efficient operation. Industrially and commercially, as between France and Prussia, for the present the victory is with the Hun.

And financially, by reason of the blockade, (the value of which as a military factor no one will question,) the German war debt is almost wholly a debt to her own people, easily repudiated, while the debt of France is one which must be paid. Here again the war has proved something like a Pyrrhic victory for France.

The French fortune invested abroad before the war was large—some fifty or sixty billions (francs) of French stock. What has become of that fortune? The best that we can hope for is that payments on about two-thirds of it may be considered as simply deferred; that the immense sum accumulated by French thrift and loaned abroad will be collectible eventually.

### INVESTMENT IN RUSSIA

France has something like twenty billion francs invested in Russia, two-thirds of that sum in Russian Government securities and the remainder in industrial enterprises. The French people have other billions in Balkan and Turkish obligations. Then, just before the war, the disorders in Mexico deprived us of any revenue from about two and a half billions of francs invested there, and we are having the same experience with several other billions in South America, notably the immense French investments in railways.

I mention some of these financial details to show how the French fortune has shrunk, so that our people can no longer derive a large income from abroad. The paying investments abroad are relatively inconsiderable compared to the debts that France has contracted abroad during the war, particularly in America and in England. The French Government has also loaned considerable sums to her small allies, just as America has done with her associates.

We look forward, therefore, to an immediate future in which we must regularly meet great interest charges in America and elsewhere abroad, to provide which we will have only the resources at home.

If our national debts were due only to our own people the problem would not be so difficult, because we would not then have to consider the sending out of the country of great sums at disadvantageous rates of exchange. The money collected from the French people for interest on the national loans would be distributed among the French people, unequally perhaps, but nevertheless the interest payments would remain in the country, to be used partly for reconstruction and as capital for the development of our industrial life.

Even as to the military triumphs of Germany there is a situation not altogether without disquieting features for France. It is quite true that the Allies have taken the German Navy and in large measure have disarmed the enemy, but there remains a chaotic yet fruitful Russia from which great help may be drawn by the Teutons.

With the British Army demobilized, the American Army back home, and France isolated there might be a danger of a reopening of the military debate by Germany which might embarrass us were it not for the assurance which President Wilson gave us in the Chamber of Deputies the other day that under the operation of the League of Nations, "whenever France or any other free people is threatened the whole world will be ready to vindicate its liberty," so that "there never shall be any doubt or waiting or surmise." This has given us great solace. And so we bid the departing American soldiers godspeed and a happy return to their peaceful firesides.

### PRESIDENT WILSON'S PROMISE

Of course, a Society of Nations in which America and France enter must be supported profoundly by the conviction of their peoples and by a determination of each nation entering into the agreement to be willing to renounce its traditional aloofness from other peoples and willing to employ the national strength outside its own country in time of peace as well as under the pressure of war.

We shall have problems, but France will face them, as she has done, with courage and with an abiding faith in the triumph of right and justice. As was said of Chevalier Bayard, so must it be said of France—she will continue "sans peur et sans reproche."

All our plan are based upon the splendid platform laid down by President Wilson. In perfect harmony with the principles which he has enunciated, we are striving for higher and holier idealism in the conduct of the affairs of the world. Divested of all mercenary aspirations, we join heartily and unreservedly in the effort to make a better world and one of simple justice to all mankind.



# The Prinkipo Conference Plan

## An Attempt to Arrange a Meeting Between Delegates of the Allies and of Russian Factions

**E**ARLY in January, 1919, the British Government submitted a proposal to the French Foreign Office that an invitation be dispatched by wireless to the Soviet Government at Moscow, to General Kolchak at Omsk, to General Denikine at Ekaterinodar, to M. Tschaikovsky at Archangel, as well as to all the other Governments appointed by the various Russian nationalities, for the declaration of a truce among the different contending factions during the period of the Peace Conference. In the event that the Soviet and other Russian Governments accepted this invitation they might be allowed to send delegates to the Peace Conference.

The French Foreign Minister, Stephen Pichon, responded on Jan. 5 with a diplomatic note, declaring that, while the French Government acknowledged the generous English spirit of worldwide reconciliation, approval could not be given the suggestion, since it did not take into consideration the principles that still inspired the policies of the French and other allied Governments in Russia.

### FORMER AMBASSADOR'S VERDICT

On Jan. 20 the Supreme Council gave a hearing to Joseph Noulens, the French Ambassador, who had just returned from Russia, where he had witnessed personally the changes that had taken place in Governmental and economic life. He summarized his views in the following authorized statement:

The Bolshevik power is the enemy of the Entente. It is responsible for the Russian defection from the Entente. It furnished Germany with food during the war. It protested against the terms of the German armistice. These acts show an uncompromising attitude of hostility against the Entente.

Tyranny and terror, which are increasing daily, should place the bloody chiefs at Moscow and Petrograd outside the pale of humanity. No society of nations could deal with such a régime, which constitutes today the most serious ob-

stacle to a general peace. Until the régime falls, which I hope to see the Allies actively undertake, Europe will continue to be exposed to the severest risks of agitation and war.

### THE INVITATION SENT

On Jan. 22 the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference adopted a proposal laid before it by President Wilson for action regarding Russia. The plan adopted was that of sending a wireless message to the various Russian Governments, inviting them to send delegates to Princes' Islands, in the Sea of Marmora, to confer with allied representatives on Feb. 15. There are eight islands in the group chosen for this rendezvous, of which the largest and most beautiful is Prinkipo, a popular Summer resort, only twelve miles from Constantinople.

The text of the message sent was as follows:

The single object the representatives of the associated Powers have had in mind in their discussions of the course they should pursue with regard to Russia has been to help the Russian people, not to hinder them or to interfere in any manner with their right to settle their own affairs in their own way.

They regard the Russian people as their friends, not their enemies, and are willing to help them in any way they are willing to be helped. It is clear to them that the troubles and distrust of the Russian people will steadily increase, hunger and privation of every kind become more and more acute, more and more widespread, and more and more impossible to relieve unless order is restored and normal conditions of labor, trade, and transportation once more created, and they are seeking some way in which to assist the Russian people to establish order.

They recognize the absolute right of the Russian people to direct their own affairs without dictation or direction of any kind from outside. They do not wish to exploit or make use of Russia in any way.

They recognize the revolution without reservation and will in no way and in no circumstances aid or give countenance to any attempt at a counter-revolution.



It is not their wish or purpose to favor or assist any one of the organized groups now contending for the leadership and guidance of Russia as against the others. Their sole and sincere purpose is to do what they can to bring Russia peace and an opportunity to find her way out of her present troubles.

The associated Powers are now engaged in the solemn and responsible work of establishing the peace of Europe and of the world, and they are keenly alive to the fact that Europe and the world cannot be at peace if Russia is not. They recognize and accept it as a duty to serve Russia as generously, as unselfishly, as thoughtfully, as ungrudgingly as they would serve any other friend and ally, and they are ready to render this service in the way that is most acceptable to the Russian people.

In this spirit and with this purpose they have taken the following action: They invite every organized group that is now exercising or attempting to exercise political authority or military control anywhere in Siberia, or within the boundaries of European Russia as they stood before the war just concluded, except in Finland, to send representatives, not exceeding three representatives for each group, to Princes' Islands, Sea of Marmora, where they will be met by representatives of the associated powers, provided in the meantime there is a truce of arms among the parties invited and that all armed forces anywhere sent or directed against any people or territory inside the boundaries of European Russia as they stood before the war, or against Finland, or against any people or territory whose autonomous action is in contemplation in the fourteen articles upon which the present negotiations are based, shall be meanwhile withdrawn and aggressive military actions cease.

These representatives are invited to confer with the representatives of the associated Powers in the freest and frankest way, with a view to ascertaining the wishes of all sections of the Russian people and bringing about, if possible, some understanding and agreement by which Russia may work out her own purposes, and happy, co-operative relations be established between her people and the other peoples of the world.

A prompt reply to this invitation is requested. Every facility for the journey of the representatives, including transportation across the Black Sea, will be given by the Allies, and all the parties concerned are expected to give the same facilities. The representatives will be expected at the place appointed by Feb. 15, 1919.

This action of the Supreme Council produced a flood of protests from the

more conservative elements in Russia, and from the various factions fighting the Bolshevik régime. The council of the national and democratic bloc of Russian political organizations abroad sent a strongly worded protest to Premier Clemenceau against the decision of the Supreme Council to call a conference of the Russian factions. It read in part:

We would be men without honor and courage if we accepted for a single moment a truce such as proposed to us while all that are dear are in danger of death—violent death by execution or assassination or slow death through hunger. The interest of humanity in general and democracy in particular requires the establishment in Russia of a régime based on the sovereignty of the people freely expressed. An improvised meeting at the Princes' Islands cannot be an expression of this sort. Russia has long clamored for the free election of a Constituent Assembly. The attempt was stifled by the Bolsheviks by force of arms, and they are today asked to make the voice of Russia heard!

Nicholas Tschaikovsky, the head of the Northern Government of Russia, voiced the hostility of his Government to a compromise with the Bolsheviks, saying:

The suggestion that we other Russians should enter into negotiations for an accommodation with the Bolsheviks is impracticable, because we have no common ground with them. They deny every democratic principle that we affirm, fundamentally the liberty of the subject. There is only one settlement possible between us: either we prevail over them or they prevail over us.

The policy of the conference is not only useless, is not only impracticable, but it is humiliating to the representatives of Russia. We cannot enter into discussions with criminals and outrage-mongers. To do so would be to recognize Bolshevism as a party, or to recognize crime as a normal political weapon and to tolerate the loosening of the foundation of democracy.

Sergius Sazonoff, former Russian Foreign Minister, who represents the Governments of Ekaterinodar and Omsk at Paris, declared that he would not participate in the meeting with Bolshevik representatives proposed by the Supreme Council. He went further, making a plea on Jan. 24 that anti-Bolshevik Russians be allowed to raise a volunteer army in other European countries with the purpose of combating the Bolshevik régime and restoring order in Russia.



General Horvath of the Siberian Government, in discussing the invitation to Princes' Islands, declared on Feb. 1, at Vladivostok, that it would be impossible for the factions to reach an agreement with the Bolsheviks. The General said:

We cannot conclude an armistice with them, because it would be impossible to secure guarantees which would not be violated by the Bolsheviks.

The Omsk Government, under Admiral Kolchak, in its formal reply to the invitation, expressed strong reserve, while not indicating absolute rejection of the proposal.

The Government of Georgia, in Transcaucasia, responded on Feb. 3 with a declination to attend, on the ground that Georgia, like Finland, already had achieved her independence, and was no longer a portion of Russia.

The Lithuanian delegation in Paris, representing the whole of Lithuania in Russia, comprising a population of about 15,000,000, replied on Feb. 6 that they were ready to accept the invitation on condition of the indorsement of the principle by the Peace Conference of absolute autonomy and independence for Lithuania.

#### ESTHONIA ACCEPTS

The official reply of the Esthonian Government, made public Feb. 11, was as follows:

The Esthonian people, by the intermediary of its National Council, which springs from universal suffrage, determined to separate from Russia, and thereupon proclaimed Esthonia an independent republic. The Government has been provisionally recognized by the English, French, and Italian Governments. Not only does the Esthonian Government exert its authority independent of any Russian Government, but for three months, after having organized a regular army, it has been at war with the Russian Soviet communist republic.

Therefore, we in no wise consider ourselves a part of Russia, although we accept the invitation of the allied powers and of the United States to go to Princes' Islands. We believe that the participation of the representatives of Esthonia and of the communist republic of Russian Soviets is of importance to the future relations between Russia and the Esthonian Republic.

The Lettish Republic responded on Feb. 12 that it would send delegates to

the conference. The official text of the reply, in part, follows:

Although, from a political point of view, the provisional Government of Letvia is in a situation exactly similar to that of Poland and Finland, it finds itself, nevertheless, invited, according to an official declaration made by the Secretary General of the Peace Conference on Feb. 10. In the name of the provisional Lettish Government, the Lettish delegation has the honor to bring to the attention of the Peace Conference of Paris the following declaration:

"The provisional Lettish Government will send three delegates to Princes' Islands, provided that all armed forces sent or directed by Russia against the Lettish State be withdrawn from Letvia, and that all offensive military action cease.

"Letvia announces its separation from Russia, and announced, in January, 1918, at the Constituent Assembly of Russia, the Constitution of an independent and sovereign Lettish State.

"The Lettish delegation sent to the Peace Conference will participate in the conference at Prinkipo in order to:

"1. Make peace with Russia, this peace to be recognized by the great allied powers.

"2. Regulate, under the auspices of the great allied powers, the political and economic affairs as they result from the separation of Letvia and Russia.

"3. Make treaties in and take the necessary steps toward the establishment of States."

By Feb. 12 the Ukrainian Soviet Government announced that it was willing to accept the invitation of the Supreme Council to the conference at Princes' Islands. The Government of the Crimea also informed the Allies about that time that it was willing to send delegates to the meeting.

#### BOLSHEVIST ATTITUDE

On Jan. 25 M. Tchitcherin, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, sent a wireless message to the Soviet representative in Sweden asking for confirmation of the proposal of the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference to send a mission to confer with representatives of the different Russian factions at Princes' Islands. In his message M. Tchitcherin raised objections to the isolation of the islands as tending to surround the proposed meeting with secrecy, and also to leaving the choice of participants to the Entente.



On Feb. 6, 1919, the Russian Soviet Government, in a wireless message to the Entente Governments sent out from Moscow by M. Tchitcherin, announced that it was willing to begin conversations with the Entente with the object of bringing about a cessation of military activities. Moreover, it offered to guarantee the payment of interest on its debts by means of stipulated quantities of raw materials, and to place concessions in mines, forests, &c., at the disposal of citizens of the Entente, provided "the social and economic order of the Soviet Government was not affected by internal disorders connected with these concessions." The message added:

The extent to which the Soviet Government is prepared to meet the Entente will depend on its military position in relation to that of the Entente Governments, and it must be emphasized that its position improves every day.

The Supreme Council, on receiving the acceptance of the Russian Bolshevik

Government, immediately made arrangements to send a joint committee of two representatives from each of the five great powers to meet the representatives of the Soviet Government. On Feb. 7 William Allen White of Emporia, Kan., and Professor George Davis Herron were appointed the American delegates to the Marmora conference with the Russian factions. Other countries named the following delegates on Feb. 8: M. Conty, the French Minister to Copenhagen, and General Bampton, for France; Sir Robert Borden, Premier of Canada, and a military delegate, for Great Britain, and the Marquis della Torretta, former Ambassador in Petrograd, for Italy.

Meanwhile the Bolsheviks showed no signs of complying with the provision for a military truce, and the project had encountered so many other obstacles that the Peace Conference took up the whole question anew on Feb. 16, with a view to hastening the solution.

## Armistice Extension

### An Economic Council Added to the Commission and New Details Arranged

THE Supreme War Council devoted its sessions on Feb. 7, 8, and 9 to a discussion of the terms for a renewal of the armistice with Germany. Statements were made by Marshal Foch and other military leaders of France that the Germans had not complied with the previous terms, and urgent representations were made in favor of imposing new and more drastic terms and compelling their rigid execution. At the meeting of the council on Feb. 8 the following resolution, proposed by President Wilson, was approved:

First—Under present conditions many questions not primarily of military character, which are arising daily and which are bound to become of increasing importance as time passes, should be dealt with on behalf of the United States and the Allies by civilian representatives of these Governments experienced in such questions—finance, food, blockade control, shipping, and raw materials.

Second—To accomplish this, there shall be constituted at Paris a Supreme Economic Council to deal with such matters for the period of the armistice. The council shall absorb or replace all such other existing interallied bodies and their powers, as it may determine from time to time. The Economic Council shall consist of not more than five representatives of each interested Government.

Third—There shall be added to the present international permanent armistice commission two civilian representatives of each Government, who shall consult with the allied high command, but who may report direct to the Supreme Economic Council.

At a meeting of the Supreme Council on Feb. 10 M. Klotz, French Minister of Finance, presented documents of the German General Staff, published in 1916, showing a systematic plan to destroy French industry, not only as a military measure, but as a means to promote German industrial interests. These docu-



ments were referred to the new Economic Council.

The council at its sessions on Feb. 12 brought together, besides President Wilson and representatives of the great powers, Marshals Foch and Pétain, Field Marshal Haig, General Diaz and Generals Pershing and Bliss; also economic and financial experts. Civilian Americans taking part were Norman Davis of the Treasury, Vance McCormick of the War Trade Board, and B. M. Baruch of the War Industries Board. The presence of these officials indicated that economic and financial, as well as military, features were incorporated in the new terms.

The German authorities were asked to furnish information confirming the amount of their war material, cannon, airplanes, and other equipment. This question came up in the recent sessions of the council when the extent of this material was advanced as a reason for taking measures against the renewal of warlike activities. Before determining on any such step it was considered desirable to request information, both as a memorandum dealing with the subject and as testing the good faith of the enemy in disclosing the status of his military equipment.

The new armistice terms were presented to the German Commissioners by Marshal Foch at Treves, on Feb. 14. Mathias Erzberger replied for the Germans. He handed two notes to Marshal Foch. One concerned the employment of the German mercantile marine for various purposes, while the other was longer and contained several requests, including the release of German prisoners and the maintenance of economic intercourse between Germany and occupied territories. The point made with reference to the German ships was that they would be released to bring food to Europe, provided Germany were allowed to obtain part of it, to be paid for by a collateral pledge rather than cash.

Among the declarations made by Herr Erzberger was one to the American representative on the Armistice Commission—that Germany went to the aid of the United States from 1862 to 1865 during

the great economic crisis, furnishing money, clothes, shoes, and machinery. If the United States came to the aid of Germany today, more than fifty years afterward, Erzberger said, she could give Germany food and raw materials against a German loan, and at the same time would be doing a good stroke of business.

Herr Erzberger said that Germany was suffering from hunger. The doctors had made known the number of victims of the blockade. More than half a million men, women, and children had died from exhaustion or the results of lessened capacity to resist disease, he added. He declared that Bismarck gave succor to Paris in 1871, immediately after the Franco-Prussian War, and he gave warning that Bolshevism would result from hunger in Germany.

He also protested against what he termed the oppression against everything German in Alsace-Lorraine and against the encouragement given by the Entente to "the Polish appetite for conquest." Germany, he asserted, had accepted President Wilson's fourteen points for peace, and the Allies also had accepted them. Article II., he said, did not give the Allies the right to forbid the German people to defend themselves against such encroachments as the Poles were making.

Marshal Foch stated that the terms of the armistice were fixed by the Supreme War Council and gave notice that unless the new agreement was signed by 6 o'clock Feb. 16 he would regard the armistice as no longer in force and would leave Treves to issue the necessary orders to the allied troops.

Herr Erzberger left Treves for Weimar on Feb. 17 to consult the German Government. The Cabinet, after a six-hour session, instructed Herr Erzberger to sign the armistice and at the same time to hand to Marshal Foch a written statement, declaring that the German Government was aware of the serious consequences involved in either signing or rejecting the agreement. The Government's statement said:

Instructing its delegates to sign, it does so with the conviction that the allied and associated Governments are endeavoring to restore peace to the world. The Ger-



man Government is obliged to define its standpoint toward three articles:

First, the agreement entirely ignores the German Government which has arisen in an orderly manner from the will of the people. It imposes in the form of curt orders provisions for the evacuation in favor of the insurgent Poles a number of important places, including Birnbaum and Bentschen. Although we are ready to cease all military aggressive action in Posen and other regions, we must expect the Poles to respect the line of demarkation; otherwise we must be authorized to defend ourselves by force.

Second, Germany promises to carry out those armistice terms which she hitherto has not succeeded in doing, but she ventures to assume that her obligations will not be interpreted in a manner incompatible with President Wilson's principles. We must wait and see whether we are in a position fully to follow the contemplated instructions of the allied supreme command.

Third, objection is raised to the point in the agreement giving only three days' notice for its denunciation.

The new armistice was signed at 6 o'clock on the evening of Feb. 16. Under its provisions: (1) the old terms must be carried out completely by Germany; (2) it can be denounced on three days' notice; (3) it is renewed for an indeterminate period; (4) it fixes a line of demarkation between Germany and Poland, by which a considerable portion of Posen is relinquished to Poland; (5) all offensive movements against the Poles must be abandoned; (6) a plan of disarmament and demobilization of the German forces is to be executed as prescribed by the military and naval advisers of the Allies; (7) and, finally, when this is done certain features of the blockade are to be relaxed. It was reported that the ultimate naval terms would provide for dismantling the fortifications of Heligoland and the Kiel Canal.

## Making the New Map of Europe

### Summary of Boundary Disputes

THE conflicting territorial claims brought before the Peace Conference for adjustment are so many and varied that a mere summary of them must fill several pages. Coupled with the problems of the former German colonies, they are demanding a large share of the thought of the peace makers at Paris.

Great Britain presents no territorial claims on the Continent and demands only that a permanent and just peace be concluded, and that, according to the principle of self-determination, there should be international freedom of transit by railroads and waterways. She proposes, however, to take the mandate over the German islands south of the equator for Australia and over German Southwest Africa for the Union of South Africa. Great Britain also expects to have the mandate over German East Africa and some parts of Arabia, having particular claims in this respect over Mesopotamia.

France regards Alsace-Lorraine as

nothing less than a portion of French territory to be rightfully returned after an enforced separation, and demands an unconditional award of those provinces to France. With the tragic events of the Summer of 1914 still before them, the French desire the right to fix the French frontiers in their relation to the Rhine, and also, according to the suggestion of Marshal Foch, the erection of buffer States, one of which would be the Palatinate and the other Rhenish Prussia. France desires that, so far as the left bank of the Rhine further south is concerned, the Peace Conference should forbid military works of any kind—barracks, bridgeheads, forts, and fortresses—in that zone. She also desires the entire Rhine to be neutralized, in which desire she has the support of Switzerland. With regard to the government of the region, France feels that the inhabitants of the district should determine for themselves whether they are to join France, become an independent State, or return to Germany. France also desires



to have returned to her the valley of the Sarre.

France, because of her traditional interests in Syria, feels that she should exercise some sort of guardianship over that country until it is fully able to govern itself. The King of Hedjas, recognized as such by the Allies soon after he had assumed his new title in November, 1916, plans an Arab confederation in which Syria is to be included. His son, Prince Feisal, presented this claim to Syria, on the part of his father, before the Peace Conference. The main difficulty in connection with this particular problem lies in the treaty concluded between Great Britain and the King of Hedjas, under which Damascus was to be included in the territory awarded to Hedjas. One section of French opinion, at least, is strongly opposed to Damascus remaining under control of the King of Hedjas, by whom it is now being administered. France also has conflicting claims with Armenia and Arabia to certain parts of Turkey's Asiatic possessions.

#### PROBLEM ON THE ADRIATIC

Italy desires possession of the Trentino as far as the Brenner Pass, including the whole of Southern Tyrol, Trieste, Istria, Fiume, Zara, Sebenico, the larger part of the Dalmatian Islands, Avlona and its hinterland, the islands in the Aegean, which were taken from Turkey in the Tripolitan war, and, should France and England take territory in Asia Minor, the province of Adalia. Should France and England extend their colonial possessions in Africa, Italy desires to enlarge her holdings in Eritrea and Tripoli. Italy desires also that the Dalmatian Islands and such parts of the Dalmatian coast as are not awarded Italy should be neutralized. A protectorate over Albania is desired by Italy.

The Italian claims to the Islands of the Dodecanesus and other islands in the Aegean Sea conflict with the Greek claims. These islands were occupied by Italian troops, but are, and always have been, inhabited by Greeks.

There is a sharp conflict between the Italian desires regarding the east coast of the Adriatic and the Jugoslavic

claims in that region. Italy stands on the London treaty of 1915, holding that the territory promised by England, France, and Russia therein is necessary to the future protection of Italy and, therefore, the peace of Europe, and that the territory promised Italy in 1915 was far less than what she asked as her allotment for entering the war.

Jugoslavia, the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," desires the Croatian seaboard and Fiume, conflicting herein with the Italian demands. With regard to the Dalmatian Islands and Albanian Islands, both Jugoslavia and Italy lay claim to these. The Jugoslavic State claims the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were seized by the Hapsburg monarchy in 1908, and is opposed by no one in the Entente group in this claim. The union of Montenegro and Serbia as part of a greater Jugoslavic State was voted by the Montenegrin Parliament, but a faction representing King Nicholas of Montenegro and his adherents protests against a union which will not leave to Montenegro entire local self-government.

#### THE BALKAN COUNTRIES

Serbia has occupied the Banat to the south of Hungary, and her claims to that region are disputed by Hungary and Rumania. The territory is bounded by the Danube, Theiss, and Maros Rivers almost entirely, except on the east, where the Transylvanian Carpathians shut it in. Belgrade, the Serbian capital, is on the southwest corner.

Rumania, like Serbia, moved troops into the Banat of Temesvar to secure her claims to that part of Hungary. Rumania also desires to retain possession of that portion of Russian Bessarabia given her by the Central Powers under the canceled treaty of Bucharest and now in her possession. And further to insure her command of the mouth of the Danube, Rumania desires the Southern Dobrudja as ceded to her by Bulgaria after the second Balkan war.

Greece desires the possession of Northern Epirus and Thrace, from which latter, however, she excepts Constantinople and the shores of the Bosphorus and





DISPUTED BOUNDARIES AND TERRITORIES IN EUROPE WHICH THE PEACE CONFERENCE MUST APPORTION

Dardanelles on condition that they be internationalized. Bulgaria, despite her unconditional surrender, has claims in Thrace, on the Aegean coast, and in Southern Macedonia that conflict with Greek desires. Greece further lays claim to the Vilayet of Smyrna, a former Turkish possession in Asia Minor, and to the former Turkish islands in the Aegean, which Italy desires.

#### NEW SLAVIC STATES

In Central Europe the new State of Czechoslovakia carved out its territories almost entirely at the expense of the old Austria-Hungary. The old kingdom of Bohemia, Moravia, and the Slóvak regions of Northern Hungary have already been incorporated into the proposed State, but there are certain conflicts with the Poles, Ruthenians, Ru-



manians, and Germans, as well as with the Austrians and the Magyars, because the Czechs assert that parts of German Saxony and German Silesia belong ethnographically to the new State.

The Czechoslovaks are coming into opposition to Polish claims in Silesia, both parties being desirous to secure control of the Teschen mining district, and in sections of Galicia, while to the northeast Czechoslovak expansion has brought them into contact with the Ruthenians, or Ukrainians, in Eastern Galicia, and with other fringes of spheres claimed by the

Rumanians. The new State desires expansion southward over a frontage on the Danube and over a corridor to the Adriatic.

The Poles, with an inadequate army, are endeavoring to establish possession of disputed regions on three sides of Russian Poland and Galicia, which constitutes the nucleus of the new Polish State. The Poles desire Eastern Galicia to include Lemberg, which is in the Ukraine, and the disputed Province of Kholm, in Little Russia.

To the northeast the Poles desire to



REGIONS IN ASIA MINOR AND THE CAUCASUS CLAIMED BY MORE THAN ONE NATION



have Vilna recognized as Polish. Both the Lithuanians and the Bolsheviks have raised claims to Vilna, the Bolsheviks supporting their pretensions by a menacing offensive. The Poles are contending against the Germans not only for German Silesia and Posen and West Prussia, as provinces populated chiefly by Poles, but also for the City of Danzig, so as to provide Poland with direct access to the sea.

Should the Poles have Danzig, East Prussia would be cut off from the rest of Germany and would remain an island populated by Germans surrounded by Polish dominions.

#### BELGIUM AND OTHERS

Belgium asks that her reparation for damages wrought by Germany shall be the first lien upon German assets to the extent of at least 15,000,000,000 francs, or up to a much larger sum if Germany does not return the machinery and the materials taken from Belgium. Belgium believes that she should be paid first because she was the first to be invaded, because her neutrality was violated and because she has suffered more from despoliation than any other country in the war.

Belgium, having reasserted her independence and thus emerged from her old state of neutrality, desires from Holland the left bank of the Scheldt and the peninsula of Maastricht, which protrudes into Belgian Limburg. Belgium is also ready to assent to a plebiscite in Luxembourg to decide whether that country wishes to join Belgium or France or to retain its autonomy.

The foregoing may be considered the extreme claims of Belgium. They come into conflict with Holland, which resists any infringement of the frontiers asked for by the Belgian annexationists. The Government of Holland appears willing to revise the Scheldt navigation treaty so that Belgium shall enjoy equal rights in the river with Holland.

Denmark desires that Northern Schleswig, seized from her by Prussia in 1864,

be returned to her. This claim is not seriously disputed by Germany. In Sweden there is a strong movement for the union of the Aland Islands with that country, the islands being considered by the Swedes as the naval key to Stockholm, the capital of Sweden. Finland also has interests here, but the settlement in this case is not expected to be difficult.

Japan desires to retain the former German concessions on the Shantung Peninsula in China and the former German South Pacific islands north of the equator which Japan occupied during the war. China demands the return of Tsing-tao, formerly German, and Kiaochau, which Japan captured from Germany.

#### NEW ZIONIST STATE

The project of the Zionists again to form a nation of Jews after two thousand years has received the enthusiastic support of President Wilson; France, Italy, and Japan have also indorsed the declaration of Balfour on Nov. 2, 1917, which is the modern Jewish charter. That declaration stipulates that "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object."

As nearly as possible, the new Palestine under the Union Jack is intended to be coterminous with the territory from "Dan to Beersheba" of the Old Testament. Thus no foreign power can wedge itself between Lebanon and the Egyptian border. The territory extends on both sides of the Jordan, but it does not include the desert, though that belonged to ancient Palestine. It stops short at the Hedjaz Railway as a recognition of Arab rights. Nor does it take in Damascus, which is regarded as the Arab capital. For practical purposes, therefore, it is the old historic Palestine, with certain adjustments of an economic order, such as complete possession of the essential waterways.



# The Lesser Belligerents

## Sketch of the Chief Developments in Belgium, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Other States Since the Armistice

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 16, 1919]

**A**FTER the withdrawal of the Germans, Belgium was faced by a serious problem—how to induce the people to assume a normal attitude. Foreign correspondents asserted and the local press confirmed the fact that the Belgians were still celebrating their release three months after the event and could not be induced to resume work. There is plenty of work for all, for the Germans destroyed railways, telephone and telegraph systems, roads and factories, yet it is with the greatest difficulty that workmen can be found who are willing to restore these things; and this notwithstanding the fact that coffee at Brussels is \$5 a pound; meat, \$2.50; sugar, 62 cents, and eggs 40 cents each. There were on Feb. 15, 1919, still 60,000 unemployed in Belgium who continued to receive the Government stipend of \$20 a month.

How dire is the need of re-establishing transportation may be gathered from official figures: The Germans in their retreat destroyed 690 miles of railway tracks and rendered useless 260 miles; they took 2,614 locomotives out of a total of 4,534; 9,062 passenger coaches out of 10,812; and 80,568 freight cars out of 94,737. It is estimated that 100,000,000 pounds of steel will be required to re-open traffic by railway and restore the bridges.

The new Ministry, which came into power on Nov. 19, was made up of six Catholics, three Liberals, and four Socialists, as follows:

### CATHOLIC PARTY

Premier and Minister of Finance..M. Delacroix  
Railways .....M. Renkin  
Interior .....Baron de Broqueville  
Agriculture .....M. Vandevyvere  
Science and the Arts.....M. Jaspert  
Economic Relations.....M. Harmignies

### LIBERAL PARTY

War .....M. Janson  
Foreign Affairs.....M. Hymans  
Colonies .....M. Franck

### SOCIALIST PARTY

Public Works.....M. Anseele  
Justice .....M. Vandervekde  
Industrial Works .....M. Wauters  
Under Secretary (Public Works)..M. Coppieters

The new Government announced the following program: Universal suffrage at the age of 21 years, with a six months' residential qualification; a general election to be held as soon as possible; a simpler method sought for amending the Constitution; the repeal of Article 310 of the Penal Code regarding the freedom of labor; the establishment of a Flemish University in progressive stages by the extension of certain courses at Ghent University.

The political fight is being waged upon the basis of universal suffrage—one man, one vote. Before the war the priests had four votes, land owners and nobles as many votes as they had estates in different provinces, and Socialists and Liberals only one vote each. The Socialists were mostly workingmen and the Liberals mostly professional men. This enabled the Catholic Party to be in power for more than forty years. Under the universal suffrage system which would relegate priests and land owners to the same category as workingmen, doctors, and lawyers, it is asserted the Catholic Party may be placed in the minority. Nevertheless, Cardinal Mercier's great personality and the energy he displayed in behalf of Belgians during the war is said to have greatly helped the cause of the Catholic Party.

One cause of bitterness and animosity in Belgium is the Flemish movement, which now is practically dead owing to the efforts of the late German Governor von Bissing to make use of it to divide Belgium into two parts. King Albert, in his speech to the Parliament after returning to Brussels, announced that the Government would propose a bill to create the basis of a Flemish University



at Ghent, reserving the details to the new Parliament to be elected later.

Pro-Germans and "activists," who supported the German scheme to drive a wedge between the Flemings and the Walloons in Belgium, are now ostracized socially. Many arrests have been made in Brussels, Ghent, and Bruges. The people of Ghent divide their hatred evenly between the Germans and the "activists." Bruges is filled with a deep-rooted hatred of everything German, while Brussels ridicules both pro-Germans and "activists." In Bruges 153 women who dealt with Germans were beaten and their hair was shorn. In Ghent pro-Germans and "activists," both men and women, were physically punished.

### PORTUGAL

The attempt at a Royalist revolution which began in Northern Portugal on Jan. 19 with the proclaimed idea of restoring Dom Manuel failed on Feb. 14, when the citizens of Oporto, assisted by the republican troops, dispersed the last of the revolutionists and captured their leader, Paiva Couceiro.

Certain preceding events appeared to many to have led to the uprising, particularly the assassination of President Sidonio Paes on Dec. 14, and the anarchist riots in Lisbon and Oporto in the middle of January. On Dec. 17 Admiral Canto y Castro, who had been a Colonial Governor under the old régime, and, during the war, Minister of Marine and in active control of the coast defense, was elected by Parliament to fill the late President's unexpired term. When the Royalist uprising took place his Government had sufficiently investigated the assassination and the riots to enable it to make the following official statement in regard to the uprising:

A revolutionary movement broke out on Jan. 19, at 1 P. M., at Oporto, Braga, and Vizeu. The movement is restricted to these three localities. Forces loyal to the Government are marching against the revolutionaries. All the garrisons of the country have declared their loyalty to the Government and to the republic. At Lisbon and in all the rest of the country order has not been disturbed. The present political strifes in Portugal are not to be attributed to Bolshevism; they are

all fought on questions of party politics, and do not aim at any social reform.

Although the revolution first proclaimed itself behind the aegis of Dom Manuel, there is evidence to show that other hands held that protecting shield. Dom Manuel himself formally denounced the revolution, and his representative in Portugal, Senhor Ornellas, the head of the Royalist Party there, did the same by pledging his support to the Government of Admiral Canto y Castro and ordering all Royalists to refrain from disturbing the public peace.

Although the chief delinquent in the attack on Dr. Paes, José Julio Costa, confessed that he was an anarchist pure and simple, documents were found connecting him with Senhor Magalhaes Lima, Senhor Brito Camacho, and Dr. Affonso Costa, who was Premier under Machado. Lima is a Senator, Grand Master of Portuguese Free Masons, and former Republican Minister of Public Instruction; Camacho, having supported Paes in the beginning, soon lined up with the opposition, and last Fall was violently attacking him in his paper, *A Lucta*. So far as known no documents have been found on the so-called Royalist leader, Couceiro, connecting his "revolution" with either Dom Manuel or Senhor Ornellas.

It is believed that Couceiro's movement, although appropriated by the rank and file of the Dom Manuel faction as their own, was really instituted for Dom Miguel, the pretender, who has an American wife.

Paiva Couceiro, whose mother was an Englishwoman, was a Captain of infantry when the republic was proclaimed, Oct. 5, 1910, two years nine months after the assassination of Dom Manuel's father and elder brother, King Carlos and Prince Luiz Philip. He was the only officer who openly opposed the republican régime. He left Portugal late in 1911, declaring that he would work abroad to overthrow the Government. In the Autumn of 1911 he led a Royalist invasion with 2,000 men and captured several small towns, among them Vizeu, from which the American wife of the pretender, the Countess of Vizeu, (née Stewart,) derives her title. The movement was defeated, and in the following



June he was condemned in absentia to six years' imprisonment. He tried again in July, and still again in September, 1913, every time meeting with failure. His attempt previous to that of last January was a few months after the war began. It cost many thousand dollars, and was publicly repudiated by Dom Manuel.

### TURKEY

While Talaat Pasha, the chief leader of the Young Turks and Grand Vizier during most of the period of the war, and Enver Pasha, the Minister of War, are in Germany awaiting developments, the new Sultan of Turkey, Mohammed VI., with the aid of the aged Tewfik Pasha and Djavid Bey, the financial expert, is trying to bring order out of chaos in both the finances and the army of Turkey. Meanwhile, the plans for an Armenian Commonwealth extending like a belt 300 miles broad from the Caucasus to the Mediterranean, and separating Anatolia on the north from Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia on the south; the claims of the new Kingdom of Hedjaz, of France and England to Syria and of Italy and Greece to Smyrna are unnoticed in Constantinople, although the subject of serious debate at the Paris Peace Conference.

Early in January the British Admiral, Calthorpe, with a staff of British, French, Italian, and American officers, took control of the police and sanitary forces of Constantinople and in a month produced marked improvements. The city and the vilayet beyond have been cleared of both criminals and vermin, the former principally held on the charge of being agents acting for the Talaat Government in the matter of the Armenian, Greek, and Syrian massacres.

When the armistice came the Committee of Union and Progress, which had been thoroughly trained in German efficiency, ignored the Sultan and attempted to run the Government. Then came a series of calamities due to the fact that not only the army but all public employes without waiting for demobilization started for their homes. The train service between Constantinople and Asiatic Turkey broke down completely owing

to the desertion of train and station men; carriers, engineers, and laborers of all sorts followed. The committee tried to keep about 3,000 Indian, 100 English, 600 Russian, 1,000 Serbian, and 200 Italian prisoners of war at work on the Taurus tunnel of the Bagdad Railway, and did succeed in keeping them until Dec. 1.

Before the Young Turks could begin to make trouble for the new pro-Entente Cabinet, the Minister of the Interior read an irade from the Sultan. It was only fifty words, but it dissolved Parliament by virtue of an amendment to Article VII. of the Constitution, which the committee itself had caused to be adopted in 1909 to be used through Mohammed V. whenever there was a Parliament which declined to do its bidding. So the Committee of Union and Progress fell a victim to a petard of its own forging. There is no question of a new election until the fate of the empire shall have been decided at Paris. Meanwhile, the Sultan, who actually rules under the direction of the inter-allied commission, sent abroad an appeal for all liberal Turks to return home and take part in rehabilitating their country.

Aside from the police work proper, which, according to a report made by the American Commissioner Heck to the State Department, on Feb. 1, had already caused the arrest of thirty-five leading members of the committee and placed Keimal Bey, Governor of Diarbekir, on trial, thousands of Armenian and Greek prisoners were to be sought out and set free. Owing to an order published in the press by the Chief of Police, calling on all Turks to hand over to the police within the week of Jan. 20 all Armenian and Greek women and children detained in Turkish houses, something was accomplished. The enormous difficulty of the quest may be illustrated by a single case reported to the commission:

At a private house which was visited we found an Armenian girl. A Turk had killed her parents and had then handed the girl, who was well off, over to his son, who, after having forcibly converted her to Islam, married her, and thus obtained the wealth that belonged to her. The girl, when asked if she would leave,



could not make up her mind. She is expecting to become a mother. If she leaves she knows she has a child to support, and that her own people will not take her in, so that she will be a waif for life, as she can recover none of the property which became her husband's by their marriage.

Some scheme on a large scale should be immediately put in operation for the benefit of girls similarly situated, for the Turk, as we all know, will only keep these girls as long as the bloom of youth is on them. There must be hundreds, if not thousands, of cases such as the one cited.

## BULGARIA

Of all the countries actively engaged in the war Bulgaria suffered less than any other. Like Germany she capitulated before she could be invaded. Meanwhile, she had made huge profits off the Germans and Austrians with whom officially and privately she had dealings, whether by the lease of her public works or the furnishing of food supplies. Before her troops evacuated Serbia and Greek Macedonia she had extracted from warehouse and private dwelling and field everything that could be transported—tobacco, wheat, maize, farm implements, live stock, hides, perfumes, and metal work—and is now prepared to sell them as her own, her chief needs being machinery, cereals, and textiles.

Bulgaria's new Foreign Minister, General Theodoroff, issued a manifesto on Jan. 8, in which he disclosed a part of his Government's ambitions. Brushing aside the charges made by the Greeks and Serbians of Bulgar atrocities, he proceeded:

In the East we think we are justified in asking for the restoration of the Adrianople district as far as the Media-Enos line, which was awarded to Bulgaria by the London treaty of May, 1913. On the south we expect free access to the Aegean Sea from Enos to Orfani. \* \* \* In Macedonia we expect that portion which was admitted by the Serbians in their treaty with us in 1912 as of Bulgarian origin and character, which includes the towns of Monastir, Prilep, and Veles, (Koprill.) As for the part which is designated in the treaty as the "contested zone," which includes the districts of Uskub and Kumanova, the decision respecting which was to be left under the terms of the treaty to the then Russian Emperor, we are content to leave to the

Peace Conference to determine. As to Dobrudja, we hope the Peace Conference will undo the injustice done Bulgaria when this province was taken from her by the Russians in order that they might give it to Rumania in return for Bessarabia. \* \* \* In short, everywhere, we rely upon President Wilson's principle of nationalities.

Aside from numerous pamphlets and leaflets, the chief organ of Bulgarian propaganda is *L'Echo de Bulgarie*, a daily paper published in Sofia, in the French language. Ten thousand copies of every edition of this paper are delivered to Government agents for missionary work in the countries of the Entente. Aside from attempting to rehabilitate Bulgaria in the eyes of Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Americans, it has special messages for French and Italian ears; to the first it shows by the history of Bulgaria that neither the Rumanians nor the Greeks are to be trusted; to the second it reveals by the same method the alleged perfidy of the Serbians. An appeal is now being made for French moral support and Italian trade.

## RUMANIA

Out of a maze of false reports coming through Berlin and Vienna, including that of an insurrection against King Ferdinand, the following real facts regarding Rumania appear from official Bucharest dispatches: Among the reforms contemplated by the Rumanian Government is a division of the great landed estates among the peasantry; a formidable army was mobilized on the frontier of Bessarabia against the Bolsheviks, and several of them were executed in Rumania itself; rights of citizenship were granted to all Jews born in the country; and everybody is working hard, from Minister of State to the peasant, on the reconstruction program. Details of this work up to the last fortnight in January, transmitted by mail, are now available.

The war Premier, Jean Bratiano, was actually being tried on the charge of high treason at Bucharest when the armistice came. The visible director of his trial was the pro-German Government of Marghiloman, while standing in the shadow behind it and directing its moves



was the Kaiser's Field Marshal von Mackensen. Marghiloman went out with the Germans and Austrians, and then, on Dec. 14, after a military administration under General Coanda, M. Bratiano resumed his old place as President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, with the following colleagues:

M. A. Constantinesco.....	Industry and Commerce
General Vaitolano.....	War
M. Saliqa.....	Public Works
M. Buzdagan.....	Justice
M. Osdar Kiriacesco.....	Finance
M. Duca.....	Public Instruction
M. Marsezoe.....	Interior
M. Enesco.....	Agriculture
M. Inoculez.....	} Ministers without portfolio
Dr. Cingureano.....	
M. Pherekyde.....	

In submitting the policy of his Government the President said that the foreign program would aim at the complete realization of the rights of the Rumanian Nation, which were based on their great war sacrifices. Internal policy would direct all its efforts to the immediate application of the two reforms recently introduced, namely, universal suffrage and the breaking up by way of expropriation of large estates and the distribution of land thus secured among the peasants.

The foreign program M. Bratiano laid before the Peace Conference at Paris on Feb. 2; it included the incorporation within the Kingdom of Rumania the Rumanian-speaking parts of Transylvania and Hungary, Bukowina, and Bessarabia. According to the provisions of the treaty which Rumania made with France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia, Aug. 17, 1916, by which the country entered the war, Rumania was to receive most of the territory indicated, and also the Banat, which is now claimed by Serbia. The treaty, however, is a dead letter, technically at least, for if Russia failed to live up to her part of the agreement and send men and munitions, Rumania herself surrendered to the enemy.

The Ukraine now claims all of Bessarabia and part of Bukowina. From the latter territory Rumanian troops were withdrawn on Jan. 31 at the request of the Paris Conference. A Franco-Rumanian force passed through Bessarabia on its way to Kiev, but no attempt was made to occupy the country. The Banat,

although north of the Danube, contains about 20 per cent. Serbs, 40 per cent. Magyars, and 40 per cent. Rumanians. It is, however, both geographically and ethnically a part of Transylvania.

The armistice had scarcely been signed when the Rumanians of Transylvania and Hungary began to organize for a National Assembly. On Dec. 1, the Assembly was convened at Alba Julia, or Klausenburg, north of Hermanstadt, and solemnly proclaimed union with Rumania by virtue of the following document, included in an account of the event published in the *Vildág* of Dec. 3, a translation of which is as follows:

The National Assembly of the Rumanians of Transylvania, Hungary, and the Banat, held on Dec. 1, 1918, at Alba Julia, declares the union of all Rumanians with the Kingdom of Rumania, the union with that country of all territories inhabited by Rumanians, and its inalienable rights over the portion of the Banat comprised between the Rivers Maresiu, Tissa, and Danube. Until the Constituent Assembly, which is to be elected by universal suffrage, should decide otherwise, the National Assembly guarantees provisional autonomy to these territories.

The political principles of the united Rumanian Nation are:

(a) Complete national liberty for all races inhabiting this territory. Each of these nations will govern itself, using its own language, and will have its own administration and courts of law. They will choose their own officials from among themselves. Each nation will have the right to be represented in the Legislature. Each will take a share in the Government of the country proportionate to its numbers.

(b) All religions will have equal rights, and will be autonomous.

(c) The Government will be a democratic one in all branches of public life. Every man and woman, upon reaching the age of 21, will have a vote. The ballot will be equal, secret, and by communes.

(d) There will be complete liberty of the press, of meetings, and of the right of assembly. Every one will be free to propagate his ideas.

(e) There will be radical agrarian reforms. The conscription of landed property will be carried out, especially of large properties. As a basis for this conscription, the right of fidei comis will be abolished. The latifundia will be diminished, and the purchase of landed proprietorship will be made easy for the peasants and their families. The guiding



principle will be a general social leveling up and increased production.

(f) Industrial workers will be assured all the rights which they enjoy in the most advanced Western countries.

To conduct the affairs of the Rumanian Nation of Transylvania, Hungary, and the Banat, the National Assembly has elected a National Council, which is fully empowered to represent the Rumanian Nation at any time and any place, with all the nations of the world, and this council will take all measures which are necessary in the interests of the race.

The Assembly has constituted the Grand National Council, consisting of 200 members, of whom 20 are Socialists and 10 representatives of the army.

This Grand Council has chosen from among its members an Executive Committee, or government, composed as follows: Jules Maniu, President; other members: Messrs. Vasile Lucaciu, Vasile Goldis, Al. Valda, St. Pop, Ivan Luciu, Aurel Vlad, Octavian Goga, Emil Hatze-gan, Valeriu Braniste, Aurel Lazar, Victor Bontescu, Romulus Boila, and the Socialists, Ivan Flueras and Josif Zumanea.

The members of the Government have taken the oath in the presence of the Rumanian Orthodox Bishop of Arad. Sibiu was chosen as the seat of Government and it was installed there on Dec. 4. The Rumanians of Bukowina, Bessarabia, and of the former Kingdom of Rumania were represented at the Assembly, and the flags of all the Allies were flown. The 200 delegates of the comitat of Torontal were not present, the Serbian military authorities (who are in occupation of the comitat) having refused them passports.

A deputation of the National Assembly reached Bucharest Dec. 14 and made known to King Ferdinand the nature of the resolutions adopted at Alba Julia. On Jan. 10 the Official Gazette of Bucharest published the following decree:

1. The Rumanian territories comprehended by the decisions of the National Assembly of Rumanians at Alba Julia on Dec. 1, 1918, are herewith and henceforth incorporated in the Kingdom of Rumania.

2. Until a definite arrangement shall be made the public affairs of the said territories shall be directed by the Council of Government which has hitherto directed them.

3. The Royal Government of Rumania will administer the foreign affairs, the customs, finances, and the public defense.

4. The territories restored to Rumania shall provisionally be represented in the Royal Rumanian Government by Min-

isters without portfolios who shall give their special advice to different departments of the Government.

5. The Council of Government at Sibiu is directed to prepare for the territories administered by it an electoral reform based on direct, equal, and secret suffrage, also a project of law for agrarian reform.

## GREECE

Greece has undertaken to obtain as much of the Greek-populated territory in Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, the islands of the Aegean, and the littoral vilayets of Asia Minor as M. Venizelos can induce the Peace Conference to grant.

Early in February Stephanos Skouloudis, former Premier, and D. G. Rhal-lis, Stephanos Dragoumis, General Yan-akitsas, and M. Codjakos, members of his Cabinet in 1916, were arrested and are now being tried on charges of treasonable conspiracy with former King Constantine in attempts to destroy the State. They are held without bail on the recommendation of a committee of the Chamber and will be tried by the Bulé sitting as a High Court of Justice. Meanwhile the Eleutherios Tipos and other newspapers are publishing documents and interviews tending to establish the guilt of the accused. One of the latter is from Admiral Coudouriotis, who was Minister of Marine in the Skouloudis Government, and refers to the surrender of Fort Rupel. It reads in part:

"None of my colleagues in that Cabinet knew anything of that dishonorable act except M. Skouloudis and M. Gounaris. In a Cabinet council held eight days later I jumped up from the table and shouted at the top of my voice, 'Nobody has the right to dispose of the territory of Greece, won by the blood of her sons, as if it was his own private property. All her sons alike are equal owners, and nobody without their consent can smuggle away even an inch of it as you have done.'"

"What was M. Skouloudis's reply?"

"Alarmed at the scene I was making he mumbled and fumbled away and produced a document which the German Minister in Athens had given him, which contained a guarantee from the German Government for a return of Fort Rupel to Greece later on. That document bore a date three days before the actual surrender of the fort took place. All M. Skouloudis's explanations to the Entente and his statements to the Chamber were delib-



erate lies, resorted to to deceive both Greek public opinion and the Governments of the Entente."

If one may judge from the tone and substance of the press of Athens the war's blight practically passed it by, for the occupation of Saloniki by the Allies was a godsend to all Hellas in more ways than one. The Greek banks have plenty of money, and already companies are being formed for the exploitation of Levantine trade, whatever may be the decision of the Peace Conference as to the ownership of the littoral and islands. The whole Levant is pictured as crying for goods in exchange for the gold it got and saved from the Germans and the Turks.

Politically, where national policy concerns its neighbors, the Athens press promotes a greater Serbia rather than a Yugoslavia; it has faith that Italy will do what is right in the Adriatic as well as in the Aegean, but it utters perpetual warnings against the Allies being taken in by the "honeyed words" of the Bulgars.

## SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO

It is still a disputed point (February, 1919) whether there is to be a greater Serbia with Croatian and Slovene appendages or a Yugoslavia consisting of a single political and territorial entity. Meanwhile, the Serbian scheme, along the lines laid down in the Declaration of Corfu, July, 1917, has the advantage, for Serbia has full recognition at the Peace Conference with delegates to advance the monarchical cause. Then there is the case of Montenegro and King Nicholas.

Was the meeting which was held at Podgoritzia dethroning him and declaring for absorption by Serbia legal? Does it express the wishes of the Montenegrins? Dr. Philippe Dobretchitch, delegate at large for the dynasty and member of the Montenegrin Parliament, declares that it does not. He says in a manifesto:

Montenegro was the first to declare war against Turkey in 1912, and she suffered huge sacrifices for the liberation of her enslaved brothers. In the second Balkan war she sent ten thousand soldiers to help the Serbian Army against the Bul-

garians, and of these the greater part were killed or wounded. As soon as Austria declared war against Serbia Montenegro did not hesitate one moment to help the Serbian people, although she was quite exhausted and deprived of all supplies after two horrible Balkan wars.

For one year and a half she fought in this war against Austro-Germans, and several times she had splendid successes; especially in the Autumn of 1915 she protected the retreat of the Serbian Army through her own land and Albania to the shore of the Adriatic Sea, rendering thereby a great service to Serbia and the Allies. Meanwhile after the Balkan catastrophe and the invasion of Serbian territory by the enemy, Montenegrin troops remained in a desperate situation, and, finding it impossible to effect a retreat, they were encircled and overwhelmed from all sides by much stronger forces of Austro-Germans. In such circumstances they were captured, when help from the Allies could not reach them.

As in the old days, when Montenegro had to fight for the liberty of all Serbians and Jugoslavs, so it was for the same high ideals and for the unity of the Jugoslav race that she entered into this great war. Montenegro is not opposed to unity with the Jugoslav countries, as some of the Balkan statesmen wish to prove, but she is against the manner of settling the question which they try to impose upon her with a view to bringing about the annexation of her territory. Montenegro as a free allied country voluntarily came into this struggle; she is entitled to a free hearing and to fair play, and should be directly represented at the Peace Conference.

From reliable information received from Montenegro I can say that the meeting which was held at Podgoritzia was quite illegal and unjust, for all the deputies elected for that meeting and who participated in it were under the influence of agents and partisans of Montenegro's adversaries, and so were compelled to vote for unity with the Jugoslavs and the deposition of the King. Under the Constitution of Montenegro it is only through the Parliament elected before the war, or through a new one legally chosen at a new election, that the people can decide their destiny. \* \* \* The form and organization of our future common State will be settled after the Peace Conference, leaving it to the Jugoslav countries to settle the matter by self-determination as to whether they will have a federation of united States, a monarchy, or even a republic.

A new paper called the *Novo Doba*, started at Belgrade, espouses the cause of a Greater Serbia. *La Serbie*, published during the war at Geneva, rather



leans toward a Yugoslavia. La Serbie, which is edited by Dr. Marcovitch, formerly a Professor at the University of Belgrade, stands for a united Yugoslavia

with maximum claims to the eastern Adriatic littoral. Its attitude toward Bulgaria is similar to that of the Athens press.

## Peace Issues in Neutral Countries

### New Problems Faced by Holland, Scandinavia, Luxemburg, Switzerland, and Spain

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1919]

AS the discussions of the new arrangement of Europe proceeded in Paris during January and February the claims of the few nations which remained neutral throughout the long struggle became more definite and their future position more clearly outlined. Some stood to gain considerably by the readjustments, others could expect nothing, and one at least saw its chief problem in retaining what it had. This last was Holland, whose position throughout the war had been the most difficult of any neutral, and for whom the armistice has brought no relief. Blocked by the Allies during hostilities, threatened and bullied by Germany, Holland has become the unwilling host of the former Kaiser, the camping ground of various German agents, and in addition sees a determined effort on the part of Belgium and France to have a new adjustment of the boundary questions which were settled so much to the displeasure of Belgium by the treaty of 1839. After a brief pause The Hague became a hotbed of intrigue, crowded with missions from Central European States, who hoped somehow to get in touch with the allied representatives in Paris. The most celebrated of these agents was Dr. von Kühlmann, former German Foreign Minister, the father of the notorious Brest-Litovsk treaty with the Bolsheviks.

#### THE FRONTIERS OF HOLLAND

But Holland had trouble of her own with the Peace Conference. The demands for territorial adjustments for the benefit of Belgium, which began soon

after the signing of the armistice in newspaper articles in the French press and some few organs of public opinion in Belgium, took a strong tone in the first weeks of February. These questions commanded the most serious attention of the Dutch press, although the Government has not taken notice of them officially. Newspapers in the principal Dutch cities devoted a large amount of space to arguments against any cession of territory of Holland, together with expressions from societies in the disputed territory in favor of retaining their bonds with Holland. The territory in question, as described in the preceding issue of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*, is the peninsula of Maastricht, or Dutch Limburg, and the south bank of the river Scheldt, or Dutch Flanders. The New York Times correspondent at The Hague telegraphed on Jan 16:

The case of Van Groendal, the member of the first chamber who is accused of treason in favoring the annexation of Limburg to Belgium, continues to be the subject of discussion and official investigation. According to the *Limburgsche Koerier*, Van Groendal said that most Limburgers desired the separation from Holland, as Limburg did not belong to the latter, but that geographically and ethnologically it was a part of Belgium, and that propaganda in favor of annexation showed this. Moreover, he said the towns of Wert and Maastricht were in favor of this plan.

Social disturbances in Holland, predicted for the latter part of January, failed to materialize. David Wijnkoop, a Socialist leader, positively asserted that a revolution would be carried out on Jan. 20. Nothing happened. The Haag-



sche Post stated that 4,000,000 gulden had been sent into Holland for Bolshevik propaganda. A correspondent at The Hague said:

The people of Holland were greatly surprised at the final outcome of the last uprising. The great royalist demonstration at the time was the feat of the Catholic Party, with the help of the capitalist and Court circles. The oldest and most aristocratic families turned out to cheer the Queen on Amalie Field at The Hague, but big demonstrations of this sort can hardly be repeated.

Holland is greatly interested in the new colonial settlement. The question of the sale of her American possessions to the United States was discussed in the period under review. The Haagsche Post raised the question of the sale of Surinam or Dutch Guiana to the United States, and Holland's share of the Island of Borneo to England, leaving Holland free to concentrate on her rich possessions of Java and Sumatra.

#### AIMS OF SWITZERLAND

Switzerland was the only neutral to put all her cards on the table and come out with an official statement of her views on the peace settlement. President Ador of the Swiss Federation arrived in Paris on Jan. 22, and at once gave out the statement of the Swiss Federal Council, which was to be laid before the Peace Conference. The text of the document follows:

(1.) Switzerland expects to be admitted with other States to the peace negotiations as far as they will deal with her own special interests or with problems of general importance. Exclusion from deliberations on problems of the League of Nations would be considered by the Swiss people as inconsistent with the principles of democracy. Neutral States, not having been called upon to make as heavy sacrifices as belligerents, have, nevertheless, suffered severely in consequence of the war. All have been able, especially in the case of Switzerland, to render considerable service to humanity.

(2.) Switzerland highly approves of the creation of a League of Nations for preserving peace, and expects from it a complete reform of international relations. Consequently, the maintenance of peace should not really depend upon the observation of a procedure of inquiry previous to a declaration of war, but must be founded upon a general interdiction to

parties in conflict not to resort to arms. International conflicts must, as far as their character allows, be solved either by arbitration tribunals formed by the free consent of the parties, or else by a permanent international court offering every guarantee of political independence. All other international disputes must be submitted to a procedure of mediation through which lasting settlements on the basis of equity and justice can be arrived at.

(3.) Switzerland recognizes the necessity for action which may ultimately consist of military pressure within the system of the League of Nations. Nevertheless, Switzerland is determined not to abandon her neutrality, which is laid down in the Swiss Constitution, and based on the tradition of 400 years of peaceful politics. This neutrality is necessary for Switzerland, considering the composition of her population, as well as on account of her being in a particularly exposed strategic position. In case armed conflict should, after all, occur under the reign of the League of Nations, the existence of the several permanently neutral and inviolable States would be a great benefit also for the League itself. The institution of the Red Cross must be based on the existence of such neutral territory if it is to be able to entirely fulfill its task.

(4.) Freedom of production and commerce is of vital importance for Switzerland. The Swiss people hope peace will re-establish the principle of commercial freedom. As far as limitations will be imposed concerning importation, exportation, and free passage of goods and raw materials, all States should mutually accord each other most-favored-nation treatment.

(5.) Switzerland as a landlocked country mainly dependent upon its share of the world's commerce, highly approves of the principles of free access to the sea. First of all, Switzerland attributes great importance to the maintenance and improvement of the existing international waterway of the Rhine from Basle to the North Sea. Switzerland fully expects, besides, that it will soon be possible to come to an understanding with France and Italy for opening the Rhine and Po-Ticino Rivers for navigation on a big scale, and obtain recognition of such similar principles regarding these rivers as are in vogue for already internationalized waterways. It is also of vital interest to Switzerland to obtain the right of passage over railroads to the sea and through European States eastward.

(6.) The political, legal, and economic principles formulated by President Wilson are so entirely in conformity with the traditional wants of Switzerland that she will adhere to them, whatever difficulties may lie in the way of their realization.



### AFFAIRS IN LUXEMBURG

Following the revolution in Luxembourg and the abdication of Grand Duchess Marie Adelaide in favor of her sister Charlotte, the council of the Grand Duchy introduced a bill in the Chamber providing for a referendum to decide whether the people preferred to change the form of government to a republic. The new Grand Duchess made a statement of friendship and gratitude toward the Entente and announced that appointments to her personal staff would all be native Luxemburgers. The former Grand Duchess went to Switzerland.

American Army Headquarters issued an official denial of the report spread abroad that the American forces on entering Luxembourg suppressed a movement against the reigning house. *L'Independance Luxembourgeoise*, organ of the Republican Luxemburgers, published a story to the effect that at the time of the change of rulers the French forces prevented the setting up of a republican Government in Luxembourg. The paper charged that General de la Tour of the French Army by clearing the streets in the neighborhood of the Parliament building prevented the people from carrying through their plan for a complete overthrow of the Nassau house instead of merely changing Grand Duchesses. The French soldiers also prevented the people from neighboring villages from getting into the capital to share in the demonstration, the paper declared.

Belgium suggested to the Peace Conference that the people of Luxembourg be allowed to vote on their annexation to the Belgian Kingdom, a union that was greatly desired when Belgium was being formed, 1831-39. There was no sign that the powers favored this change.

### SCANDINAVIAN INTERESTS

The following summary of the aspirations of the Scandinavian countries was made by The Associated Press correspondent at Paris on Feb. 8:

The territorial aspirations of the three Scandinavian powers are considered modest. Denmark wishes to annex that part of Northern Schleswig inhabited predominantly by Danes, but has not asked to regain the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, taken from Denmark by Prussia

in the war of 1864, or to extend her frontiers southward to the Kiel Canal.

Norway has certain aspirations to Spitzbergen, or a part of it, but is not pressing these claims energetically.

A strong Socialist movement in Sweden favors the union with Sweden of the Aland Islands, which are regarded by the Swedes as the naval key to Stockholm. Swedish interests in this connection are in conflict with those of Finland. Sovereignty over the islands has belonged to Finland since the fall of the Russian Imperial Government. Nothing has been heard since the collapse of Germany of earlier Finnish plans to obtain an outlet by the annexation of parts of Russian Karelia, lying between Finland and the Murman coast, and even of adjacent Finmark, which belongs to Norway. This contention on the part of Finland led to the landing of allied troops at Murmansk to prevent the establishment of a German submarine base in the northern seas.

In the case of Denmark there was an extension of the movement in Schleswig for union with the Danish Kingdom. The Danish claim was for only the northern part of Schleswig, but in Central Schleswig, where the population is mixed, the Danish inhabitants of their own accord demanded their right to determine their future allegiance and complained that the German authorities were preventing the free expression of opinion. Complaints against the Councils of Soldiers and Workmen in Northern Schleswig said that the Danish inhabitants were being despoiled of their food supplies and their live stock to such a point that it seemed the intention of Germany to hand over to Denmark "only an empty shell."

On Feb. 5 an event occurred of first importance for Norway, the resignation of the Knudson Cabinet, which had been in office for six years. It was the most radical Government anywhere outside of Russia, but it had lost nearly all its popular support. The party lost twenty-two seats in the Autumn elections for the Storting, while the conservatives gained twenty-nine. The new Parliament is notable for the number of prominent Norwegian business men in it.

Sweden is contesting with Finland for possession of the Aland Islands, basing the Swedish claim on self-determination for the people of the islands. Hjalmar



Branting, writing in the *Social-Demokraten*, says:

The primary point of the Swedish claims is the application in this particular case of the right of peoples to a Government of their choice. The Government of Finland will see itself soon obliged to make known its attitude publicly, and one may hope that its obscure manoeuvres will have less success now that our Government maintains the right of the people to the Government of their choice, which was proclaimed by the victors in the world war, the Government receiving in this question the unanimous support of the Swedish people.

The two other Scandinavian countries support Sweden in the claim to the Åland Islands, as in the case of the Schleswig annexation for Denmark.

#### SPAIN'S AWAKENING

Although slow to awaken to the new currents of the time and the issues at stake in the world war, there are increasing signs that the Spanish Government is making energetic efforts to put the country in touch with the victorious Entente Powers and the League of Nations idea. King Alfonso XIII, in an interview with a Spanish journalist, said:

We are today in the presence of the results of the world transformations which have come about during the four years of the war; unfortunately we have been a little late in taking account of the situation, and we must make up for lost time.

It is a positive fact that Spain no longer constitutes a corner of Europe. She has become the passage way of world transit. It is, therefore, necessary and urgent that we improve our lines of communication with the rest of Europe, with Africa and America.

If we do not do this for ourselves, it will be forced on us, or rather it will be done for us. I have on this subject a clear opinion, and it is for this reason that I propose the establishment of an electrical railroad direct from Madrid to the frontier, by which Madrid will be not more than seventeen hours from Paris. Moreover, I am particularly concerned to assure rapid communication by railway from Madrid to Valencia, from Madrid to Saragossa, from Ax to Ripoll, from Madrid to Algeciras. All these lines should have a gauge of 1.40 meters, the international gauge. It will also be necessary to take up the question of canals, roads, and ports.

Details of the new statute for the autonomy of Catalonia were announced in Barcelona on Jan. 22. The statute provides for a State comprising the present provinces of Barcelona, Tarragona, Lerida, and Gerona. The new Catalanian Government will be composed of a Parliament of two chambers and an Executive and a Governor General. Catalonia will no longer recognize the supreme authority of Madrid in matters of administration affecting Catalonia alone. The new Government proposes to assume the direct control of mines, waterways, taxation, and education.

## President Poincaré in Alsace-Lorraine

### Welcomed by Chief Cities

**F**OLLOWING the entry of the French troops into Alsace-Lorraine in November, 1918, President Poincaré and Premier Clemenceau made a tour of the recovered provinces and celebrated their reunion with the mother country. They were accompanied by the allied military leaders, Marshals Foch, Pétain, and Joffre, Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, and General Pershing, with the Ambassadors of the various nations and many French Government officials. The party visited the chief cities of Lorraine

and Alsace, and everywhere received an enthusiastic welcome.

At Metz, the capital of Lorraine, on Dec. 8, the population indulged in a spontaneous expression of joy, and the Mayor, pointing to the popular demonstrations, declared that they were a sufficient reply to the German Government's pretense that Alsace-Lorraine was content to remain German. He recalled the triumphant entry of the German Emperor in 1871, and asked whether that had been signalized by any such



reception as that given to President Poincaré. Referring to a Deputy's sardonic remark that he would renounce all rights of admission to Paradise if there were any Prussians there, the Mayor declared that the people of Metz felt that they were indeed in Paradise, such was their happiness at becoming a part of the French Nation again.

President Poincaré, in thanking the Mayor for his warm welcome, expressed the gratification of the French people at the return of Metz to its rightful place in the republic. Throughout the centuries, he said, this old Gallic city had retained its Latin name and speech as a witness of its origin; it had been a bulwark in olden times against the constant influx of the Germans; its traditions had been preserved through the Middle Ages, and its French ideals and concepts embodied in its cathedral, built, indeed, by Frenchmen. The President recalled the city's old bond with France; its petitions to the various French Kings to be accepted in fealty, and successive proclamations of Henry II., Henry III., and Henry IV. as sovereigns of Metz. He pointed out that, despite every attempt on the part of Germany to crush the aspiration for freedom, Metz had always persisted in its loyalty to France.

At the Alsatian capital, Strasbourg, President Poincaré met with as eager and hearty a reception as at Metz. The Mayor of Strasbourg received the visiting President on Dec. 9 with a particularly significant address, expressing the deep emotion of his compatriots at the reinstatement of French administration in that city and in the provinces. The Mayor's address was as follows:

Alsace and Lorraine at last receive their compensation for fifty years of suffering, of which but few among you, gentlemen, know the real extent; repulsive connections, humiliations, constant reopening of old wounds, and impotent indignation at flagrant acts of injustice and numberless brutalities. But that horrible nightmare is now gone, forgotten, buried deep under our great joy, which can only be troubled by the recollection of the price paid for it.

We have been able to prove by our unequaled demonstrations the gratitude we feel for those heroes whom, once more, we can look upon as our soldiers. And our deepest feelings of thanks and admiration are tendered today to the women

of France, who held out under the greatest sorrows and hardest trials, enduring the most unparalleled privations and anguish.

We ponder over the French Nation, its unity, its calm heroism, its immovable resolution, which attained to victory through the inspiration of the heroes at the front, and the allied Governments and peoples with their unshakable faith in final triumph.

You have before you yet a great task, that of the reconstruction of the devastated regions, so many of which suffered that we might be free. We, who, thanks to you, were spared in a material way, place all our intellectual, industrial, and financial forces, our practical and moral support, at your absolute disposal.

If our France appears before the world glorified by an unequaled struggle, having accomplished its mission this time, let us not forget those whom her example drew about her for life or death. We must bow low before martyred Belgium and her heroic King, and must welcome those countries returned to the family of nations, Poland, Bohemia, Greater Serbia, and Rumania.

Above all must we turn our thoughts to our two great allies, England, represented here by Marshal Haig, and America, whose representative, General Pershing, led the last-born of our great armies, whose fresh and irresistible valor brought nearer the dawn of peace, saving hundreds of our brothers from death and preserving Alsace and Lorraine from destruction. And, finally, we turn in tribute to one of the greatest figures of the times, America's glory, making complete the group of leaders for her three great wars, Washington, Lincoln, and Wilson.

We did not realize the real significance of Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty until Mr. Wilson directed its rays upon Europe, cutting our shackles and casting them among the heap of fallen crowns. It is indeed not a mere matter of chance that this great allegory of liberty lighting the world, now become an actuality, is the handiwork of an Alsatian.

President Poincaré, receiving the keys of the municipality from the Mayor, responded to the latter's speech of welcome, saying in part:

Rest assured that France, which is receiving the keys of Strasbourg from you, will hold them safely in trust and will never let them pass again into other hands. On Sept. 27, 1870, the French colors were lowered from the tower of your cathedral. They were again run up on Nov. 25, 1918, the joy of the latter date effacing the horror of the former.

For forty-eight years Germany remained in Strasbourg, but like a passing traveler.



Never was she at home here. And the day that she departed, never to return, she admitted her astonishment at the realization that all her efforts of years to enforce her rights of conquest and her attempts at Germanizing the provinces had been futile.

Strasbourg has remained what she always had been—a city cherishing through the centuries justice and liberty. She has retained all the characteristics of those times when she vigorously stood upon her traditional rights, opposing to all attempts of the Holy Empire to reduce her to a subservient position her municipal franchises, which always protected her against German aggression and drew her to the

French. What she was forty-eight years after the Treaty of Westphalia, when she intrusted her destiny to France, accepting Louis XIV. as her King, Strasbourg has remained through the years. She has remained what she was in 1790, when she celebrated the first Federation, raising along the shore of the Rhine the first Tricolor, inscribed, "Here Begins the Land of Freedom." What Strasbourg was in the days when Rouget de Lisle composed here his immortal hymn of the "Marseillaise," she remains; she remains, indeed, what she was when in 1840 she raised a statute to Kléber as a witness of her admiration for the great soldier and for the glory of the French.

## Germany's National Assembly

### Story of the Historic Gathering at Weimar Which Shaped the Machinery of the Provisional Republic

GERMANY was engrossed during the early weeks of 1919 in voting for delegates to the forthcoming National Assembly. The Government decided that this momentous body should meet on Feb. 6 at Weimar, capital of the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach. For the purpose of the election Germany was divided into thirty-eight districts, which theoretically would elect 433 representatives. But as elections were not held in Alsace-Lorraine, the number was reduced by twelve from this cause, and it was still further reduced by the fact that, as Posen was occupied by Polish troops, elections there were impossible; and in Schleswig political leaders had passed a resolution against participating in the election, anticipating unity with Denmark. In voting, electors were permitted to strike out a name or names, but could not insert others to replace them. The German plan was based on proportional representation, so that each party elected representatives in proportion to the vote cast.

From the outset returns indicated heavy defeats for both wings of extremists. While the Pan-Germans were promptly ousted from their strongholds the Spartacans met with practically no

popular support. This was held to demonstrate that the bulk of the people desired a democratic republic freed of monarchical or Bolshevik influences. Mainly the current ran strongly in favor of the Majority Socialists.

In the new order of things women everywhere cast a heavy vote, thirty-four women being elected to the National Assembly. Among notable political figures early elected were Count Posadowsky, Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, former Chief of Police Eichhorn, Hugo Haase, Friedrich Ebert, Philipp Scheidemann, Herr Dielsch, Foreign Minister of Baden; Herr Röchert, Traffic Minister, and Ludwig Haas, Minister of the Interior.

For the most part the elections were conducted in an orderly manner, though there were reports of Spartacan disturbances from Berlin, Hamburg, Dinslaken, and some other interior places. In Berlin the Government had taken strong measures to suppress Spartacan interference; voters exercised the franchise under the protection of a machine-gun squad at each polling place. At the close of the voting troops occupied the polling places to protect the count. Subsequently a futile attempt by Spartacans to destroy ballot boxes led to some street fighting in Wilhelmstrasse and elsewhere.



## ELECTION RETURNS

Final election returns by parties are given in the following table:

Present Name.	Old Name.	Description.	Delegates.	
			1917.	1919.
Majority Socialist.....	(Same).....	Moderate Socialists...	89	164
Christian People's.....	Centre.....	Clerical.....	91	91
Democratic.....	{	Progressive.....	Bourgeois Radical....	46 }
		National Liberal.....	Moderates.....	44 }
German National.....	{	Conservative.....	Monarchists.....	{ 45 }
		Pan German.....		
Minority Socialist.....	(Same).....	Radical Socialists.....	19	24
Guelf.....	(Same).....	Hanover Separatists..	4	4
Bavarian Peasants' League..		Agrarian-Socialist,		
		Catholic.....	—	4
Württemberg Bourgeois.....	Independent.....	Anti-Socialist.....	15	2
Peasants' and Workers' Democratic League.....		Republican.....	—	1
	Polish.....		18	—
Total.....			397	401

The surprise of the election was the strength of the Democratic Party. A correspondent cabled on Jan. 22:

At the same time the pendulum has not swung as far to the right as had been anticipated, and the sweeping success of the German Democratic Party is the surprise of the elections. Having a prospect of holding a position of great importance in the new Parliament, this group comprises former Progressives of the left wing and National Liberals, with hitherto unorganized radical elements, supported by, among others, Prince Max of Baden and Dr. Solf.

The Democratic Party includes in its ranks the best of the moderate bourgeois, with a good leavening of "intellectuals." Its success is even greater than its leaders expected, and gives to German radicalism an importance to the State it never before possessed. It is estimated that the Majority and Minority Socialists combined have got a mandate of 40 to 50 per cent. of the electors. If, therefore, they are unable to form a majority of the Government, then the Democratic Party, by virtue of its personnel, as well as its members, will really constitute the most influential group in the State and leave the strongest mark on the new Constitution.

It was announced that as the present Government considered its existence at an end with the convening of a Constituent Assembly, the first business before the Assembly would be the formation of a Provisional Government. The Assembly would then take up the adoption of a Constitution. A draft of a Constitution was submitted by the Minister of

the Interior merely as a preliminary suggestion to form the basis of discussion. The obligatory task of the Constituent

Assembly would be finished with the adoption of the Constitution, but as it had the right to make itself a constituted, instead of a constituting body, this probably would be done. In that case the Assembly would be obliged to regulate tax and financial questions by legislation.

## BERLIN'S DISSATISFACTION

The Government's selection of Weimar for the seat of the National Assembly, under pressure of the South German States, was received in Berlin with something like consternation as a likely removal of the capital. This, however, was presently lost sight of in the plan for the division of Prussia into several States. Overnight of Jan. 25 this aroused a storm of indignation among all the reactionary elements. They immediately made it a main issue in the approaching elections for the Prussian State Convention.

Elections to the Prussian State Convention took place Jan. 26 in sharp wintry weather. This was said to have been the cause of the noticeable smallness of the vote in comparison with that cast for the National Assembly a week previously. There was no disorder. The Independent Socialists made gains, apparently as a result of propaganda carried on after the shooting of Dr. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. After counting the votes on Jan. 28 it was conceded



that the Democratic Party, led by Philipp Scheidemann, would be the strongest body in the Prussian Parliament. At Potsdam the ex-Crown Princess and Prince Eitel Fritz claimed the right of citizens to the franchise and voted.

#### PREPARATIONS IN WEIMAR

The transformation of Weimar from a literary shrine and unimportant provincial town into the seat of the German National Assembly presented considerable physical difficulties. It was wholly unequipped for accommodating an important political gathering and attendant demands. More than 1,000 telegraph and telephone experts were put at work to establish needed communication, and to arrange quarters for the delegates with private families. The residence of the former Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar and the National Theatre were requisitioned for the conference.

A threat by the Spartacans to attack the National Assembly from Erfurt, Eisenach, Halle, and Gotha hastened the Government in sending troops to Weimar. An advance detachment of 100 Chasseurs, which arrived on Feb. 2, was met by the local Soldiers' Council of the 94th Regiment, and ordered to disarm. This demand was complied with. Thereupon the officers of the Chasseurs were arrested. Later, on the arrival of the main body of Chasseurs, the local Council explained their action as due to fear of being expelled from their own barracks. Arms were then returned, and the arrested officers released. The People's Commissioners subsequently gave orders to find other quarters for the Chasseurs.

Premier Ebert, accompanied by the People's Commissioners, left Berlin for Weimar on the morning of Feb. 3. On departing Ebert thanked the soldiers for defending Berlin so effectively, and expressed his conviction that they would continue to do so during the absence of the Commissioners. Additional troops were collected east of Weimar, and the situation there soon showed marked improvement. The Government had taken up residence in the palace, and later held a Cabinet meeting.

By Feb. 5 some 3,000 political leaders

had gathered in Weimar. Arrangements for their reception had been so perfected that living and eating quarters were promptly assigned to each accredited visitor. Faithful to German method, a card system was introduced, which began with a pink card admitting delegates and journalists to Weimar and places in the National Theatre. A gray card was issued for lodgings, stating price, and a yellow card indicated the place of eating. A booklet of pink, blue, and green slips represented breakfasts, luncheons, and suppers, together with gray, red, brown, yellow, maroon, and blue tickets for edible supplies. Strong patrols of cavalry and infantry were in evidence as a warning to the Spartacans.

#### THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The German National Assembly was convened at 3 P. M., Feb. 6, in the beautiful Weimar Court Theatre. The interior was brilliantly lighted and transformed into a creditable imitation of a legislative hall. The orchestra chairs had been shifted to writing desks, while the entire first and second balconies, holding the press representatives, had been so altered that each newspaper man had a small bit of table.

The stage had been changed by the addition of a platform, on which the presiding officer sat in an enormous high-backed chair upholstered in leather on which the German eagle was emblazoned. It was the old Reichstag Presidential chair.

The theatre, especially the tribune of the President and the Government benches, was fairly buried in red, pink, and white carnations. The rear portions of the first and second balconies and the gallery were thronged with privileged visitors, including neutral diplomats in Germany who had come from Berlin.

Delegates arrived early and presented the appearance of a democratic crowd, well though plainly dressed. Nearly 300 of the 397 who answered the roll call were new to political life. The 28 women delegates of all ages scattered through the house were regarded as a curiosity, and provided the only mirthful note in embarrassed responses to the calling of their names. Premier Ebert made the



opening speech, which occupied half an hour. Members of the Government stood grouped about the tribune, just in advance of and below the President's seat on the stage. Ebert spoke loudly, slowly, and distinctly, his voice carrying to all parts of the theatre. It shook with emotion as it touched upon what he deemed essential points, and rose high in rebuke above interruptions.

#### PREMIER EBERT'S SPEECH

Herr Ebert began with the declaration: "We have done forever with Princes and nobles by the Grace of God." The German people, he continued, were now ruling themselves. The revolution would decline responsibility for shortage of food and the defects in food management in Germany. Need had delivered Germany to her enemies, but he protested against being a slave to Germany's enemies for thirty, forty, or sixty years. "Our enemies declare that they are fighting against militarism," he went on, "but militarism has been dethroned."

The Premier next took up the armistice terms and declared them to be unheard of and ruthless. "Like General Winterfeldt," (who had resigned from the Armistice Commission,) he added, "the whole German Government might also eventually be forced to renounce collaborating in the peace pourparlers and throw upon its adversaries all the weight of responsibility for the new world organization." He protested against the expulsion of Germans from Alsace and the sequestration of property. The Assembly broke into a storm of wrath when reference was made to the 800,000 prisoners still held in captivity. All this, he said, displayed anything but a spirit of reconciliation. "We warn our opponents," he cried, "not to drive us to the uttermost. Hunger is preferable to disgrace, and deprivation is to be preferred to dishonor."

The Germans, he maintained, had laid down their arms with confidence in President Wilson, and the present free Government of Germany believed it was only its right to enter the League of Nations and work with real energy.

"We turn, therefore," said the Premier, "to all the peoples of the world for justice. We ask that our economic life be not destroyed. The German people have fought for inner self-determination. It cannot be perfected from the outside." Herr Ebert was cheered when he proposed a union of Germany with Austria, that the bonds sundered in 1866 might again be sealed. Following a strong appeal for German unity, the Premier declared that the Provisional Government had been the executor of a bankrupt régime. "We will call on the old spirit of Weimar," he concluded. "We will be an empire of justice and truth."

The Assembly adopted the old standing orders of the Reichstag as temporary rules of procedure, and adjourned until the following day.

#### SECOND SESSION

The second session of the Assembly on Feb. 7 was marked by as large an audience as on the previous day. By a vote of 374 out of 399 cast, Dr. Eduard David, a leader of the German Social Democratic Party, was elected President of the National Assembly. Fehrenbach, a Clerical and former President of the Reichstag; Haussmann, a Democrat, and Dietrich, a Conservative, were elected Vice Presidents by overwhelming majorities. Dr. David's address to the Assembly was practically a repetition of Ebert's speech. Dr. David was loudly applauded when he said that "self-discipline was a pre-condition to self-determination," and that "the Assembly should be the headquarters of the free world." He evoked great enthusiasm when he declared Alsace-Lorraine should have the right of self-determination.

On Feb. 8 the National Assembly passed the first reading of the Provisional Constitution by acclamation. Hugo Preuss, Secretary of the Interior, who had drafted the document, explained its provisions at length. It empowered the Assembly to adopt a permanent Constitution and to enact "such national laws as were urgently necessary." It provided for the choosing of a national President by a majority vote, and for the creation of a "Committee of State" to



occupy the position of a quasi-second chamber. The instrument made no attempt to anticipate the permanent Constitution except as to a single vital feature. It included a provision that the territory of the German States should not be altered without their consent. This was to allay the storm raised by the plan to divide Prussia into several States. An unexpected development of caucus proceedings was a majority sentiment in favor of transferring the National Assembly to Berlin after the Easter holiday.

#### EBERT ELECTED PRESIDENT

Friedrich Ebert was elected Provisional State President of Germany on Feb. 11 by a vote of 277 out of 397, and the Provisional Constitution was adopted. An agreement was also reached on the composition of the new Cabinet, to consist of fourteen members. Philipp Scheidemann was selected as Chancellor, Dr. August Müller as Minister of Economics, Herr Bauer as Minister of Labor, and Herr Landsberg as Minister of National Defense and Justice. Dr. Eduard David resigned the Presidency of the National Assembly to accept a portfolio in the Ministry. He was succeeded by Konstantin Fehrenbach, Vice President. Mathias Erzberger entered the Cabinet without portfolio, and Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau as Foreign Minister. According to political parties, the new Cabinet was composed of seven Socialists, three Democrats, three Centrists, and Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, anti-Socialist.

In electing the Provisional State President, Count von Posadowsky-Wehner received forty-nine votes, Philipp Scheidemann and Mathias Erzberger one each. Fifty-one delegates abstained from voting. After the announcement of Ebert's election Dr. David extolled the Provisional State President's "skill, activity, and firmness to protect their new freedom from every danger, either from the Left or Right." Herr Ebert in accepting the Presidency made a short speech in which he declared his purpose would be to dispense justice without favor or prejudice. He continued:

I will administer my office not as the

leader of a single party, but I belong to the Socialist Party and cannot forget my origin and training. The privileges of birth already have been eliminated from politics and are being eliminated from social life.

We shall combat domination by force to the utmost from whatever direction it may come. We wish to found our State only on the basis of right and on our freedom to shape our destinies at home and abroad. However harsh may be the lot threatening the German people, we do not despair of Germany's vital forces.

President Ebert was accorded a great ovation by the packed galleries and by the crowd outside when he left the Assembly building.

#### ADOPTING A CONSTITUTION

In the somewhat acrimonious debate on the Provisional Constitution, which followed, "secret agreements" formed the main point of contention. The Independents strove to amend a paragraph of the sixth clause, which read:

As soon as the German Empire is represented in the League of Nations, with the aim to exclude secret agreements, all agreements with the nations allied in the League must have the acquiescence of the National Assembly and the State Commission, [Second Chamber.]

The Independents proposed to alter this paragraph so that Germany would unequivocally go on record as legally bound to enter into no secret agreements regardless of what other States would do in the future. Dr. Hugo Haase and Dr. Cohn led for the Independents, and Herr Landsberg, Dr. Dernburg, and Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau for the Government and allied parties. After rejection of the amendment obstructionist tactics were resorted to by the Independents. It was remarked that the House showed excitement for the first time since the opening of the Assembly. The House rose after voting to limit the President of the Republic's salary to 1,000,000 marks.

With the exception of the Rote Fahne and Freiheit, organs of the Radical Left, and the Lokal-Anzeiger, representing Kaiserism, the Berlin newspapers were united in hailing Ebert's election as President with satisfaction. At least confidence was expressed in "his willingness and ability to administer his



high office to the best possible advantage of Germany in the tragic circumstances." Quotations from Vorwärts and from Theodor Wolff in the Tageblatt reflected general public sentiment as applied to the character of President Ebert. Varwärts said:

Saddler Fritz Ebert is the natural President. This means victory for himself, victory for the proletariat, victory for socialism. The bourgeois parties, which during the election campaign proclaimed loudly that the Social Democracy had proved its inability to govern, have elected a Socialist President. They know in their hearts that only the Social Democracy can govern Germany now.

Herr Wolff wrote in the Tageblatt:

Ebert is no shining light, nor has he studied as much as some others, but he is the embodiment of good, common sense. When after a day's work he sits behind a good bottle of wine, his hands folded over the table, this natural wisdom shows to the best advantage.

There is nothing stiff and dry about him, but everything is cordial and round, like his person. He possesses that indefinable astuteness and tenacious perseverance without which even in revolutionary times no harnessmaker can become President. The German labor movement has created no powerful individualities, but a vigorous, bright, critical spirit. On such ground as Ebert's they have a ground that lies midway between the tropics and the arctic regions. \* \* \*

Least of all have the Monarchists cause to say that Ebert's personality is anything but royal, because they were always ready and their principles commanded them to pay homage to the most insignificant, incompetent, foolish personage, only because by a mere stupid accident of birth he grew up in a princely palace.

At the meeting of the National Assembly on Feb. 14 Herr Huitze introduced a resolution containing the declaration that the German people would never accept a peace of violence, and protesting against the "exaggerated" conditions of the armistice as tending to ruin Germany.

#### SPARTACAN REMNANTS

During this whole period the Spartacans continued sporadic efforts, both in Berlin and in the provinces, to intimidate the Government. For the most part these efforts took the form of strikes and local brigandage. While Foreign Minister Rantzau, General Gröner, and

the most prominent People's Commissioners were in session at the Chancellor's palace debating "no nonsense" measures to overcome the strike epidemic, together with murder and burglary rampant in town and country, the lights went out and the meeting had to adjourn in darkness. This was the beginning of the electric strike, which caused much suffering and danger to life. A correspondent stated that it was typical of the whole situation: "Hardly does the Government master one calamity when it is overwhelmed by another from an unexpected quarter."

So exasperated, however, had law-abiding citizens become with these tactics, that the plan was adopted of meeting strike with strike. Thus in Bremen, still in the hands of the Spartacans, the physicians announced they would at once cease all activity, private or in hospitals, if the supply of food, coal, gas, or electricity should be endangered again by strikes, or if the Bremen Government should continue to make arrests for political reasons. The members of the Bremen Druggists' Association indorsed the physicians' attitude, declaring they would close all the chemists' shops if the Spartan proceedings continued. The physicians and druggists of Berlin, Leipzig, and other large cities threatened to follow the example of Bremen, as well as other professional men and whole classes of administrative officials. This threat of a "bourgeois strike" against the Bolshevik strike had a sobering effect.

#### LIEBKNECHT'S LAST APPEAL

What was probably the last formal appeal to the outside world for the support of Bolshevik doctrines sent out by Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg was published in the Berlin Tagwacht, Dec. 26. The manifesto was also signed by Franz Mehring, the veteran Socialist, politician and historian, and Klara Zetkin, the leader of the German Socialist women for many decades. The document breathes the usual fiery invective leveled at both imperialism and capitalism. The following extract from it may be taken as conveying the burden of the whole:



The great criminals of this fearful anarchy, of this chaos let loose—the ruling classes—are not able to control their own creation. The beast of capital that conjured up the hell of the world war is not capable of banishing it again, of restoring real order, of insuring bread and work, peace and civilization, justice and liberty, to tortured humanity.

What is being prepared by the ruling classes as peace and justice is only a new work of brutal force from which the hydra of oppression, hatred and fresh, bloody wars raises its thousand heads.

The funeral of Dr. Liebknecht and thirty other Spartacans killed in the Berlin riots took place on Jan. 25, without a breach of public order. The Government had prepared for any overt contingency by concentrating formidable bodies of troops in strategic places, and the display of both field and machine guns. At threatened points the military posted signs: "Stop or you will be shot." Pedestrians were observed to conform with alacrity. Some 40,000 Spartacan sympathizers followed the funeral procession to the Friedrichsfelde Cemetery. Enormous masses of sightseers lined the route, anticipating another revolt; but the Spartacans were in no mood for fighting.

#### SPARTACANS SURRENDER

On Jan. 30 it was announced that the Spartacans at Cuxhaven and Bremerhaven had surrendered. The determination of the Government to restore law and order throughout the country took the form of a picked division of troops under Colonel Gerstenberg. It comprised all arms, especially artillery, and departed in eighteen trains for Bremen on Jan. 28, as the first objective. On Jan. 31 it was reported approaching Bremen on both sides of the Weser. The rebels occupied the City Hall and other important buildings, with the intention of offering a desperate resistance. The non-Spartacan elements, however, were encouraged by the approach of Government troops to strike against Spartacan rule. At Wilhelmshaven and Hamburg conditions were improving.

On Feb. 2 the People's Commissioners at Bremen consented to resign if the Berlin Government wished them to do so. The armed workers declared their readiness to deliver their arms to the Bremen

Ninth Army Corps upon guarantee that the disarmament should be complete and order restored. Thereupon the Majority Socialists requested the immediate withdrawal of Colonel Gerstenberg's division, as its mission was finished. Gerstenberg consented not to occupy Bremen unless the other side should receive reinforcements, as had been threatened. Meanwhile, von Pretzwitz, a young Prussian Junker officer on the staff of Colonel Gerstenberg, who had conducted the negotiations with the rebels, carried these proposals to Berlin. He was immediately sent back to Bremen with the following ultimatum:

The Bremen Council of People's Commissioners must resign at once. On Monday a new Government must be formed on the basis of the vote cast for delegates to the National Convention. Immediately after the new Government has assumed office all arms must be delivered to the division of General Gerstenberg. If these conditions are unreservedly adhered to, the division of Gerstenberg will not occupy Bremen.

The conditions named were not fulfilled and a number of clashes followed. On Feb. 4 Gerstenberg's division of Government troops bombarded Bremen and, after severe fighting, entered the city. They captured the Town Hall and the Stock Exchange and drove the Spartacans in retreat toward Gropshagen. Many persons were reported to have been killed and much material damage done during the bombardment, especially to the old cathedral.

The method of counterstriking on a big scale against Spartacan terrorism was first adopted at Düsseldorf on Feb. 5. Officials, clerks, and other employes in the service of railways, posts, telegraph, telephone, and surface lines, together with bankers, lawyers, physicians, teachers, and other members of professions, called a "walkout" and quit work. Theatres and restaurants were forced to close, industrial plants shut down, and all professional activity ceased. On the same date the Ebert Cabinet threatened to take military measures against the Soldiers' Council at Erfurt unless the arms illegally abstracted from the local arsenal and distributed among civilians were returned within four days. This



measure was taken upon suspicion of a plot to attack the National Assembly at Weimar.

It was noted that money flowed in profusion in support of Spartacan activity, and that the Spartacans were able to equip volunteers with arms and munitions without difficulty. Threats of Spartacan attack upon the National Assembly from Erfurt, Eisenach, Gotha, and Jena determined the Government to bring the pick of Berlin's secret police to Weimar. A dispatch of the 7th announced the success of the Düsseldorf official and professional strike against Spartacan terrorism. Most of the points in dispute were conceded and all imprisoned bourgeois delegates liberated.

Berlin dispatches of Feb. 9 and 10 reported an outbreak of Spartacan disorders. Soldiers and sailors occupied Alexander Platz, and in a conflict with Government troops six persons were killed and fourteen wounded. Another encounter took place on Brunnenstrasse, the Berlin Bowery. A Spartacan attempt to resort to their previous guerrilla tactics of house-top fighting was promptly suppressed.

#### THE GERMAN ARMY

By the new regulations issued Jan. 24, relative to the control of the German Army, the power of the Soldiers' Councils was greatly diminished. The Prussian Minister of War, through the army officers, was charged with responsibility for the employment and leadership of the new. He became Supreme Chief of the army, and he alone possessed power to promote officers and soldiers. Soldiers' Councils, formed by all garrisons or regiments, would watch over the activities of officers and see that military authority was not used against the Government. They were also to be consulted as to permanent regulations relative to feeding the troops, the granting of leave, and discipline, but beyond that they were under strict limitations. To this was added an order that in future officers would wear a dark blue stripe on the left sleeve, all other distinctive marks having been abolished. The obligation to salute was reciprocal, though abolished in the big cities.

This order of Colonel Reinhardt, the Prussian Minister of War, aroused open revolts on the part of Soldiers' Councils in the German Armies. The Council of the 9th (Bremen) Army declared that it would not obey the order. The Government replied that it would find means to enforce it. The Council at Lübeck, with whom Colonel Reinhardt was sent to discuss the matter, ordered him to leave the city within twenty-four hours. The councils of many army corps, as well as a great number of local councils, gave notice that the order would not be obeyed.

In accepting the freedom of the town of Cassel Feb. 2, Field Marshal von Hindenburg said that it was not a time for diplomas and honors, but for work, and that the defense of Germany was threatened in the East. The Field Marshal on leaving Cassel went to Kelsberg, which was the headquarters of the German Armies operating against the Poles and the Bolsheviks. A Copenhagen dispatch of Feb. 3 stated that Sven Hedin had returned to Stockholm from visiting General Ludendorff at Heselholm. Sven Hedin was assisting the General in translating his book of personal defense into Swedish.

A remarkable statement in reference to the German Army was made by Hugo Haase, the German Independent Socialist leader, previous to his leaving the Berne Socialist Congress to take part in the National Assembly at Weimar. Herr Haase said:

Under the pretense of defending the Prussian border against the Bolsheviks and the Poles a volunteer army of 600,000 is being organized by Hindenburg in Pomerania and Eastern Prussia. In reality there is no menace of invasion by the Bolsheviks or the Poles which warrants the concentration of so large a force. Hindenburg's headquarters are at Tolberg, on the Baltic coast, one of the chief strongholds of Junkerism, militarism, and Pan-Prussianism.

All over Germany calls for volunteers to swell this eastern army were posted in public places and published in the newspapers. These posters and advertisements attempted to revive the patriotic and military instincts of the Germans by reminding them of the great deeds of their ancestors, such as their re-



lease from Napoleonic rule over 100 years ago. Apart from this appeal to sentiment, the volunteers received a promise of five marks a day, good food, and new uniforms. Since similarly favorable conditions of existence were scarcely obtainable in civil life today, said Herr Haase, it was natural that

thousands of men should enlist. After a few skirmishes with the Poles or the Bolsheviki, he intimated, this new army might be a willing instrument in the hands of the German reactionaries, and at the word of command it might march on Berlin or even against the allied army of occupation.

## The Former German Emperor

A French official report on the penal responsibility of the former German Emperor was drawn up by Ferdinand Larnaude, Dean of the Paris Law Faculty, and Dr. A. G. de Lapradelle, Professor of the Rights of Nations in the same Faculty. The authors gave a long argument against the bringing of the ex-Emperor before a tribunal of common law, because his will commanded, but his hand did not execute. They contended he was not the principal offender, and therefore he could only be punished as an accomplice. To this end an international tribunal must be found, an entirely new jurisdiction must be created. With reference to the ex-Emperor having willed acts of terrorism by his soldiers, the report quoted a letter written by William II. to the Emperor of Austria:

My soul is torn asunder, but everything must be put to fire and blood. The throats of men and women, children and the aged must be cut, and not a tree nor a house left standing.

With such methods of terror, which alone can strike so degenerate a people as the French, the war will finish before two months, while, if I use humanitarian methods, it may prolong for years. Despite all my repugnance, I have had to choose the first system.

On the eve of the ex-Kaiser's sixtieth birthday, Jan. 26, a special New York Times cable gave an account of his daily life at Amerongen:

He rises about 8 o'clock and follows an ordinary routine. His bath, however, is followed by a thorough massage, to which he has been accustomed since his university days. After his bath he has an extremely simple breakfast, sometimes in his own rooms and sometimes with the Bentinck family.

After breakfast he receives reports from the chief of his servants, who lays before him clippings from various newspapers, severely censored, and what remains of

the censored mail. A walk in the garden comes next and, in fine weather, wood sawing for the castle fires. Another bath is taken before lunch, which is also a frugal meal.

After lunch the former ruler occasionally takes a short nap, after which he gives himself to writing or dictating to his private secretary, a former officer. Tea is served in the English style at 5 o'clock and then the exile reads until dinner, at 8 o'clock, after which there is frequently music in the parlor until bedtime.

The former Emperor never wears uniforms nowadays, although many uniforms, including those of all the German guard regiments and several General's outfits, were brought across the frontier when he left Germany. He wears civilian clothes made by the local tailor at Zeist.

Those who have not noted the gradual change in his appearance scarcely recognize the elderly civilian with the short, whitish Van Dyke beard and somewhat thinned gray hair, which, however, is still in good condition considering his age.

Enormous quantities of baggage were brought across the frontier when the former Emperor fled, but many of the trunks are still unopened. Little use is made of the silver dinner set for twenty-five covers which was also brought along.

His birthday was celebrated at the castle by a dinner party, at which his host, Count von Bentinck, wore the robes of a Knight of St. John of Jerusalem by way of compliment to his guests as head of the order. Great numbers of floral tributes, together with piles of letters and telegrams, arrived at Amerongen. A proposal to engage the village church choir for the event was dropped, owing to much adverse comment in Holland. In Germany only the reactionary journals mentioned the ex-Kaiser's birthday, taking it as a text to preach a return to the monarchical system.

A declaration of the official Dutch attitude regarding the ex-Kaiser was made



## Facsimile of the Kaiser's Abdication

Ich verzichte hierdurch für alle Zukunft auf die Rechte an der Krone Preussen und die damit verbundenen Rechte an der deutschen Kaiserkrone.

Zugleich entbinde ich alle Beamten des Deutschen Reichs und Preussens sowie alle Offiziere, Unteroffiziere und Mannschaften der Marine, des Preussischen Heeres und der Truppen der Bundeskontingente des Treueides, des sie Mir als ihren Kaiser, König und Obersten Befehlshaber geleistet haben. Ich erwarte von ihnen, dass sie bis zur Neuordnung des Deutschen Reichs den Inhabern der tatsächlichen Gewalt in Deutschland helfen, das Deutsche Volk gegen die drohenden Gefahren der Anarchie, der Hungersnot und der Fremdherrschaft zu schützen

Urkundlich unter Unserer Höchsteigenhändigen Unterschrift und beigedruckten Kaiserlichen Insiegel.

Gegeben Amerongen, den 28. November 1918.



The above is a reproduction of the facsimile of Kaiser Wilhelm's formal abdication as it appeared in a Dutch newspaper a month after it was signed. The translation is as follows:

"I hereby for all the future renounce my rights to the crown of Prussia and the associated rights to the German Imperial Crown.

"At the same time I release all officials of the German Empire and Prussia, as well as all the officers, noncommissioned officers and men of the navy, of the Prussian Army, and of the federal contingents, from the oath of fealty which they have made to me as their Emperor, King and Supreme Commander. I expect of them that until the reorganization of the German Empire they will help those in possession of actual power in Germany to protect the German people against the threatening danger of anarchy, famine, and foreign domination.

"Given under our hand and our Imperial Seal,

"Amerongen, 28 November, 1918.

WILHELM."

by Premier Ruys de Beerenbrouck. The Dutch Premier revised his copy of the statement and authorized its publication as follows:

We are reproached for having given hospitality to the Kaiser and his son. But, to put it bluntly, these gentlemen fell like a brick on our heads. How could we act

otherwise than we have done? I would like to know what any one else would have done in our place.

You know the circumstances: On Sunday, Nov. 10, at 4 A. M., the Sergeant on guard duty at Eysden perceived the arrival of a train of automobiles. Officers of the rank of General stepped out and demanded that he accord passage to the



Kaiser. The Sergeant refused. Then one of the Generals declared: "Everything has been arranged with the Dutch Government and the Kaiser is expected." The Sergeant, as a mere noncommissioned officer, allowed himself to be overcome by this "war lord" of high rank, and the Kaiser entered Holland.

At 9 o'clock that morning, on my return from church, I was informed by my colleague, M. Van Karneback, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that he had received at 7 o'clock a telegram from our representative at Brussels, M. Van Hollenhoven, transmitting a request that the Kaiser be allowed to pass the frontier. Almost at the same hour the Commander in Chief of our army received a notification from the post commander of Maestricht of the event that had occurred at dawn—that is, the Kaiser's entry. We were face to face with a fait accompli.

What attitude were we to adopt? The Kaiser's act of abdication was only dated Nov. 11, but on Nov. 10 on two separate occasions he affirmed that he had come to Holland solely in the definite quality of "a simple private person," of a plain citizen asking for hospitality. It was difficult, even dangerous, to refuse.

To receive him was to render a service to the Allies. The world knows now where are the chiefs of the imperial family and that they are unable to do any harm.

This unexpected arrival forced us to seek a place to lodge the visitor. After much ado and with a great deal of telephoning we found it on the property of Count Bentinck, who has been subjected to a lot of vexation in consequence—the breaking off of long-standing friendships with Englishmen and annoyances of all kinds. His position, like our own, has been completely misunderstood.

In reply to the Frenchman's question as to the possibility and desirability of

the extradition of the members of the imperial family responsible for the war, which might, as it were, mark Holland's entry into the League of Nations, the Premier said:

I can only repeat to you what I said in Parliament: We shall act in accordance with the existing laws and treaties. Put believe me, when feeling on the subject runs less high, the world will appreciate the legality and usefulness of the attitude taken by the Netherlands.

In Germany the imperial family might have formed the centre of a moral and intellectual agitation. Nothing of the kind is possible here.

A dispatch of Feb. 4 stated that societies to "save the Kaiser" from being handed over to the Allies were being organized in Germany. Further, that Eitel Friedrich, second son of the former Emperor, had written a letter to Premier Ebert, demanding that the Government assist in the plan. Kurt Eisner, the Bavarian Premier, attending the Berne Socialist Conference, granted an interview to an American correspondent, Feb 7, in which he said regarding the former Emperor's guilt:

Emperor William was undoubtedly directly to blame for precipitating the war, but the military caste was responsible to a greater extent for bringing it about. They must all be tried, but by a German tribunal. I am in favor of all stolen property being restored and the robbers severely punished.

An Amerongen message of Feb. 8 indicated that the ex-Emperor was maintaining close communication with his former supporters.

## The Revolt in the German Navy

### Beginning of the Revolution

THE revolution which overthrew the Kaiser's Government and established a republic in Germany had its inception in increasing movements of mutiny among the men in the German fleet at Kiel, which culminated in their successful revolt on Oct. 31, 1918. As early as the Spring and Summer of 1915 there were a succession of minor mutinies on differ-

ent German warships. Various documents relating to them have been found in the archives of the Imperial Naval Department. On Sept. 7, 1915, the Kaiser addressed to the officers of the Imperial Navy a special order marked "Streng geheim," ("strictly secret,") exhorting them not to be too severe in maintaining discipline, but to adopt toward their men a benevolent attitude calculated to keep



the crews in a safe frame of mind. But discontent in the German Navy increased. In March, 1916, there was a mutiny on one battleship, and a few weeks later there was a more formidable affair, which ended in the condemnation to death of more than thirty of the men who were regarded as the ringleaders of the movement.

In the Spring of 1917 a serious mutiny occurred among the sailors of the High Sea Fleet. The Captain of a battleship was thrown overboard and drowned, and other officers were wounded by the rebels. The outbreak was soon quelled, and 190 men were executed after being found guilty of war treason.

### THE REVOLT

These various uprisings were forerunners which prepared the way for the final attempt. Early in the morning of Thursday, Oct. 31, the Admiral commanding the German High Sea Fleet gave the signal to be ready to put to sea. This action was interpreted by the men of the various vessels as a last desperate attempt to fight the British Navy. The Captain of the battleship *Thuringen* committed the indiscretion of turning this suspicion into certainty. Assembling the whole crew of his vessel, he addressed to them a highly patriotic speech which ended thus: "We will fire our last shot and then we will perish like heroes with our flag flying." But the crew of the *Thuringen* had no desire to perish heroically; on the contrary, they were determined not to allow themselves to be dragged into this mad adventure. First they sent a deputation to their Captain to remonstrate; while this was taking place, all fires were extinguished and the engine holds were flooded with water, and communication was established with the crew of the battleship *Helgoland* next in line. Soon after sunrise on Oct. 31 the whole of the crews of the *Thuringen* and the *Helgoland* were in open mutiny.

The Rear Admiral commanding the First Squadron of battleships, flying his flag on the *Ostfriesland*, sent boats alongside the two rebel ships to take off the officers, who were allowed to depart

unmolested. The Admiral then signaled the *Thuringen* and *Helgoland* that both would be torpedoed unless they surrendered immediately. The other battleships were withdrawn to a distance, and two large torpedo-boats, B-97 and B-112, appeared on the scene ready to discharge their torpedoes on receiving the expected signal from the flagship *Ostfriesland*. The crews of the two torpedo-boats, whatever they may have felt, showed no signs of refusal to obey the order to blow up their comrades on the two battleships, numbering more than 1,500. At this critical moment the *Thuringen* signaled her surrender, and the *Helgoland* immediately followed suit. All the mutineers were transferred to transports and conveyed without delay to Wilhelmshaven to await their trial.

### NAVAL BASES SEIZED

On the same day, Oct. 31, there were smaller troubles on other ships of the High Sea Fleet which revealed the impossibility of putting to sea. Twenty-four hours later most of the crews and the whole of the marine garrison of Wilhelmshaven were in open revolt. Their reinforcement on Nov. 2 by the crews of the Third Battleship Squadron, which had been sent from Kiel to Wilhelmshaven to quell the movement, and by large numbers of men just brought back from the coast of Belgium, made the rebels masters of the situation. Emissaries were sent to Kiel, and all the fleet men at that port joined the movement with enthusiasm. These events succeeded each other rapidly on Oct. 31, Nov. 1 and 2. Cuxhaven, Brunsbüttel, Emden, and Lübeck fell successively into the hands of the mutineers; everywhere the officers were powerless to stem the tide, and for the most part they submitted without open resistance. In a few cases officers who resisted were shot and their bodies thrown into the sea.

By the evening of Nov. 2 nine-tenths of the German fleet and all the naval ports from Kiel to Emden were in the hands of the mutineers, and Germany's navy had for all practical purposes ceased to exist. Prince Max of Baden,



who was then Chancellor, seems to have used his influence to prevent the dispatch of troops to attack the rebels, acting thus under the influence of Scheidemann and Erzberger, who advised strongly against violent measures. The Radical member of the Cabinet, Herr Conrad Haussmann, was sent to Kiel to try to negotiate with the men, but he returned to Berlin within a few days without having achieved any result. The rebel seamen, with a view to strengthening their position and preventing reprisals, quickly sent emissaries to Berlin, Munich, and the other large towns to stir up the Socialists and to stimulate other revolutionary movements in the different centres, and it can now be stated as an established fact that the men of the fleet not only carried out their own revolt successfully, but were mainly instrumental in spreading the contagion of sedition to the civilian population inland and to the army at the front.

#### REVOLUTION IN BERLIN

When the mutiny in the German fleet brought things to a head, Berlin was already ripe for a revolutionary movement, which had been organized during the preceding months. The Scheidemann Socialists took no part whatever in these preparations. They were made by the Independent Socialists, and not by the recognized leaders of the party, but by some of the lesser members, who formed its left wing, and by the Spartacus Communists, who still, in name, belong to the Independent Socialist Party. The preparations for an armed rising, which had been begun in the Spring of 1918, were redoubled after the victories won by the allied armies in July and August. One of the local leaders of the Independent Socialists, Emil Barth, succeeded in securing a considerable quantity of arms and munitions, which were distributed secretly to trusted adherents and kept in concealment in expectation of the moment to strike.

The imperial authorities had knowledge of these preparations and, toward the end of October, elaborate preparations were made to suppress the expected rising. Secret orders, copies of which have been found in the archives

of the Great General Staff, were issued to a number of commanding officers, directing them to select with great care picked bodies of officers and men who could be absolutely trusted to fight uncompromisingly against any popular rising. Picked troops were chosen and supplied with an elaborate equipment, which included heavy artillery, field artillery, machine guns, gas bombs, hand grenades, gas masks, and so forth. At the end of October these special corps were ready for action, and from the day on which the first troubles in the fleet occurred they were held in readiness in some of the Berlin barracks and at Spandau and other places close to the capital.

This was the state of affairs when the emissaries of the fleet mutineers arrived in Berlin to bring their message of revolution to their friends among the Independent Socialists, who, after hurried consultations, fixed Nov. 11 as the date of a general strike. Under the disguise of a general strike they intended to make revolution. It was on the eve of this effort that the Scheidemann Socialists suddenly changed their attitude and decided to join forces with the Independent Socialists if the latter would accept their co-operation. Till that moment the Scheidemann Socialists had been docile supporters of the Government, headed by Prince Max of Baden. But Scheidemann, the arch-opportunist, perceived that the revolutionary movement had become really formidable, and that there was probably more to be gained by joining it and seeking to direct it than by opposing it. Discontent with Scheidemann's methods of subservience to imperialism had been growing among the rank and file of the Majority Socialists since the beginning of the series of the Allies' victories on the western front, and Scheidemann realized that a considerable section of his party would desert and go over to the Independent Socialists unless he and the other leaders came into line with the revolutionary movement.

#### SOLDIERS JOIN REVOLT

After coming to a temporary working arrangement with the leaders of the Independent Socialist Party, Scheidemann



and his colleagues acted with determination and rapidity. Prince Max of Baden was persuaded that none but a purely Socialist Government could avert a civil war, with the result that he abandoned the Chancellorship precipitately. Scheide-mann, not yet sure of the results of the revolution, refused the Chancellorship for himself with a gesture of noble self-sacrifice, and thrust his colleague Ebert into the supreme post.

Almost before the new Government had been formed, the Majority Socialists and the Independent Socialists had taken joint measures to secure the support of the soldiers of the Berlin garrison, and especially of those special corps formed for the express purpose of suppressing any revolutionary movement. Trust-worthy emissaries were sent first to the barracks near the Belle-Alliance-Platz,

where the troops rallied without hesitation, and, indeed, with great enthusiasm, to the revolutionary movement. One by one the regiments in the other barracks declared their adherence to the movement. Even the officers offered no more than a normal resistance. Within a few hours it was evident that the entire garrison of Berlin, including the special corps formed to combat the revolution, was on the side of the new Socialist Government, headed by Ebert. This was the decisive factor. If the troops in Berlin had remained faithful to the old régime the revolution would have been crushed in an hour. The seamen started the revolution. The soldiers of the Berlin garrison insured its success in the capital. The Socialist workingmen, notwithstanding all the noise they made, played only a subordinate part.

## Last Cruise of the German Fleet

### Diary of a Naval Commander

**T**HE commander of one of the German destroyers surrendered under the armistice kept a diary of his impressions on that last cruise of the German High Seas Fleet and published it in the *Tägliche Rundschau* of Dec. 24, 1918. A characteristic portion, dealing most directly with the surrender, is here translated. The red flag referred to was the flag raised by the sailors when they mutinied at Kiel and refused to obey the order to go out and sacrifice themselves in a last battle:

**Sunday, Nov. 17**—Clouds of smoke and soot lie over the war harbor. If one walks through the streets one arrives home quite black; the fleet is getting up steam. The Wilhelmshaven people are accustomed to this dirt. It was often so during the war when the fleet was suddenly going out for some undertaking or the enemy was reported out at sea by our aircraft and advance patrols. But today it is quite different; the High Sea Fleet is beginning its last cruise—surrendering to the enemy! For four years I have shared victory and want with my crew, and I won't leave them in the lurch at the end. Going on board is hard. The red flag is still flying there, a sign of all that has collapsed in these last weeks. The crew is serious and quiet; most of them feel how great is the disgrace.

**Monday, Nov. 18**—In the Schillig Roads. Coming through the locks we have hoisted our war flag and pennant once more. Every one on board has the feeling that it looks better and more dignified than the red flag. \* \* \* The undefeated German fleet is going out to meet the enemy who anxiously avoided it for four years, and says to him, "Here, take us; you have won the game only too brilliantly and as you cannot have imagined in your wildest dreams." I wept, and I am not ashamed of it.

**Tuesday, Nov. 19**—Soon after noon we put to sea. Not racing ahead as before, but crawling slowly. We must save as much fuel as possible. The North Sea is seldom so calm at this time of year. No look-out for submarines now, and no manning of the guns. At night there is a bright stream of light from every ship, and I no longer have to gaze into the darkness trying to spy the enemy. \* \* \* I cannot stop asking myself how we have earned such an end, and whether all our brave seamen are lying for nothing at the bottom of the sea. Who can give an honest answer? What is the truth?

**Thursday, Nov. 21**—On Wednesday morning one of our destroyers struck a mine and sank. Many are already lying down there, and many more will follow when the mine-sweeping begins again. At 8 o'clock we are at the appointed place. The first English destroyer soon comes in sight. My heart beats furiously. If we had still had our torpedoes on board I think that that de-



stroyer would have known it. So it is a good thing that we left every weapon behind. The destroyers surround us on every side; we are a procession of prisoners. Our large ships are convoyed in the same way by the English battleship and cruiser squadrons. The English stood at their battle stations with gas masks on. They simply could not understand that we should surrender without a blow. The English ships are freshly painted. The men are in their best clothes. Everything is arranged to impress us. Slowly we proceed to our anchoring place in the Firth of Forth. Nothing to be seen of the land; typical English fog. Airmen circle round us, playing all sorts of games. One of them who intended to make a particularly bold movement falls straight into the sea. An airship also, wabbling clumsily, feels it necessary to show us—how well built our Zeppelins are.

**Friday, Nov. 22**—The search commission is on board. I speak with the English officers only to say what is absolutely necessary. With me they will have no occasion to disobey their strict order not to fraternize with the Germans. Apparently they are less concerned to discover whether we really have no ammunition and weapons on board than to spy out our equipment. They have little luck in this. All the things which they would so much have liked to see and about which they constantly asked—instruments for measuring distance, electrical apparatus, and especially the "smoke" apparatus—stayed behind at Wilhelmshaven. So they can only observe that we have very pretty guns. For a long time they racked their brains about certain other parts of our armament, the use of which they do not

understand. "Unhappily" I do not know enough English to explain. Today my English is for the most part limited to "yes" and "no."

**Sunday, Nov. 24**—The German fleet is being taken to Scapa Flow. There is no further question of our going to a neutral port. If it must be an English port I like Scapa Flow best, for up there there is at least no mob to laugh at us.

**Monday, Nov. 25**—Scapa Flow is a splendid harbor, well protected on all sides. The entrance is secured by nets and mine barriers. On shore the huts of the natives are about as high as a good German dog's kennel. The English have been lying here for four years. That must have been pretty uncomfortable. It is all the stranger to see how little this naval base has been developed. There is only one miserable little dock and a few small workshops; there is no pier for destroyers. \* \* \* I am relieved by the order that only one officer and nineteen men are to remain on board every destroyer. So I must leave with most of the crew. Almost all those who stay behind have volunteered—partly out of affection for the destroyer and partly because they hope not to return to Germany until conditions there are normal again.

**Monday, Dec. 2**—An English battleship lies not far from us. We see the English sailors on board parading from 9 to 12. We did not do that even in times of deepest peace. Our men are astonished. Those, then, are the sailors who, as we were told, had turned back from an undertaking against Germany and had hoisted the red flag! \* \* \* Tomorrow the German steamer will arrive which is to take us back to Wilhelmshaven.

## Russia's Struggle With Bolshevism

### Narrative of Military Operations in the Archangel and Other Regions---The Invasion of Esthonia

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1919]

**A**LL through the earlier part of January the Soviet troops continued to shell the allied positions in Northern Russia. Later in the month they began a systematic offensive aimed at driving the Allies out of the interior of the country. On Jan. 25 they forced the detachments of Americans, British, and Russians to evacuate the town of Shenkursk. Large stores of provisions fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks. The latter had previously achieved slight successes east and west of Shenkursk.

Two days later the allied forces, including an American detachment, retired from Shegovarski, situated on the Vaga River, as is Shenkursk. In comparison with the allied position on the Vaga on Jan. 20, this constituted a retreat of about seventy-five miles northward. Subsequent attacks forced the allied troops to withdraw from Tarasovo and retreat a distance of forty miles due north, (Jan. 30.) The withdrawal was preceded by a week's fighting in this sector.

The Bolsheviks continued to attack the



new American positions on the Vaga and the allied positions on the Dvina, at Tulgas, but were everywhere repulsed with heavy losses. The allied forces also retired under Bolshevik pressure along the Pinega River, to the southeast of Archangel. On Feb. 7 a detachment composed of Americans, Britishers, and Russians started an offensive south of Kadish, to prevent the flanking of the American positions. The allied forces advanced five miles. Allied airplanes greatly harassed the Soviet forces in the Vaga sector. On Feb. 10 the Bolsheviks succeeded in occupying temporarily several allied blockhouses in this sector. According to advices to the State Department at Washington, made public on Feb. 12, the Bolsheviks obtained large stores of various supplies and munitions along the Dvina River. On Feb. 12 they were forced to retreat southward in the region of Sredmakrenga, and they were also repulsed at Kadish.

In the middle of January the War Department received a message from Colonel George E. Stewart, commander of the American troops in the Archangel sector. The Colonel reported that the Americans scattered over a wide front had "performed most valiant service," that their clothing and equipment were "ample and excellent," and that the living conditions and rations were good. He estimated the total number of deaths, up to Jan. 12, at 6 officers and 121 enlisted men.

On Feb. 1 the War Department made public the following figures regarding the composition of the Allied Expeditionary Force operating in Northern Russia:

	Men.
Britishers, approximately .....	8,000
Americans, approximately .....	4,500
French, approximately .....	1,500
Russians, (under British officers,) approximately .....	1,200
Other soldiers, approximately .....	1,000
Total .....	14,200

The Soviet forces in Northern Russia were estimated at 25,000 men, with 151 machine guns, 66 field guns, and 9 six-inch guns.

The military operations were by no means confined to the region of the north. The advance of the Soviet troops

in the western and southern directions continued with varying success during the month under record.

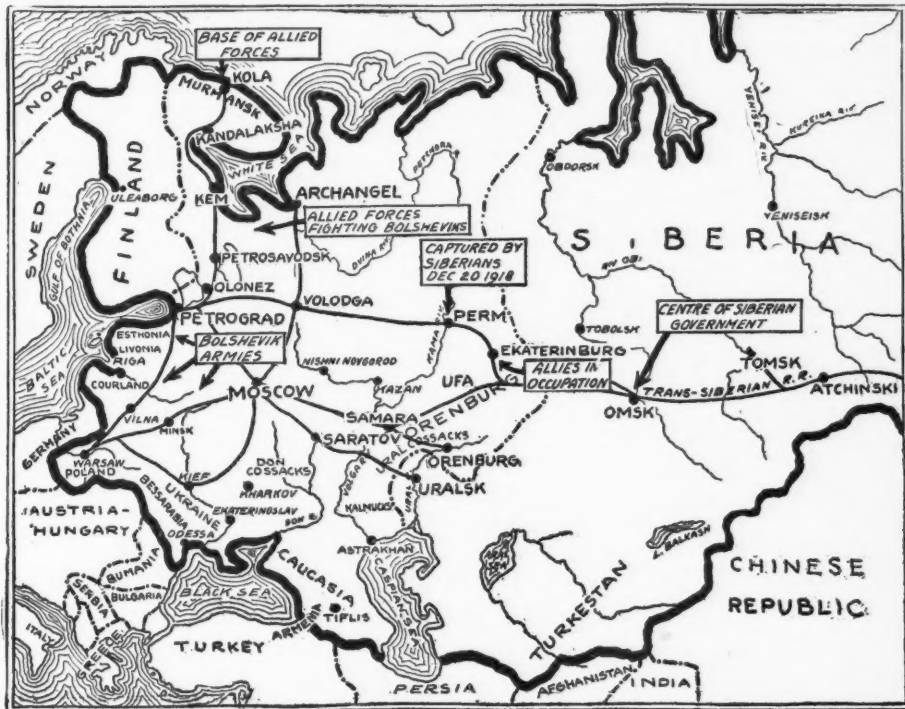
### INVASION OF ESTHONIA

Early in January the Esthonian Government at Reval addressed an urgent request to the British Government asking for the immediate dispatch of weapons and ammunition, without which, the message said, the Esthonian troops, assisted by Finnish volunteers, would not be able to resist the Bolshevik advance. The Bolsheviks were overrunning the richer parts of the country. A Bolshevik Government was set up at Dorpat. It issued a manifesto proclaiming the fall of the "bourgeois" Government at Reval, ordering a general mobilization and decreeing the immediate confiscation of land, industrial plants, and banks.

British troops were again landed at Riga in the second week of January and successfully fought the Bolsheviks in the vicinity of that city. A few days later the Bolsheviks took Mitau and several small towns in the region west and southwest of Riga, but had to evacuate Narva under the pressure of Esthonians assisted by Finns. According to a statement made by an Esthonian delegate to the Peace Conference, the Bolsheviks had committed many atrocities during their brief occupancy of the latter city.

On Jan. 24, Lithuanian troops defeated the Soviet troops near Koszedary, midway between Kovno and Vilna, taking 6,500 prisoners. Routed at Narva, the Bolsheviks marched on Libau, but were halted by German volunteer forces. The latter were reinforced by Swedish and Finnish troops, which arrived in Libau on Feb. 1 to fight the Soviet forces in the Baltic provinces. The next few days witnessed the capture of the City of Valk, Livonia, by Finnish-Esthonian troops, and the occupation of the town and harbor of Windau, and also of Vilkomir, Lithuania, by the Soviet armies. A dispatch of Feb. 10 stated that the Lithuanian forces had succeeded in arresting the Bolshevik invasion. Most of the members of the Lithuanian Cabinet, including the Premier, had previously gone in quest of safety from Libau to





## the Danish Island of Bornholm in the Baltic.

## ESTHONIA'S STORY

The Estonian Government, which has its seat at Reval, sent M. Poska, its Minister of Foreign Affairs, to England and France to enlist the aid of the Allies, and to secure their recognition of the independence of the Estonian Government. Upon his arrival at Paris, M. Poska made the following statement on Jan. 14, 1919:

My fellow-citizens have at this moment but one aim, which dominates everything else: peasants, workmen, and middle-class people all seek to protect themselves against the Bolshevik invasion. The Government of which I am a member is a national coalition ministry including patriots belonging to all parties.

The Bolshevik invasion started during the first two weeks of November, immediately after Germany had signed the armistice. The German troops, not content with retreating before the "Red Army" without any resistance, split into two parts, forming a sort of passageway for the invader. At the same time the German authorities systematically forebore to arm the Estonians. The Germans have not, as yet, taken away their war material. Part of it they abandoned

or sold to the Bolsheviks, but, in general, they destroyed what remained rather than give it to us. We found ourselves possessed, in all, of 5,000 rifles and twenty cannon of an old type of Russian make. We did not even have any money, for the Germans had taken away our only reserve of rubles. And we had to face a large Bolshevik army which had been organized for months, which was well equipped and supported by strong financial resources.

On Dec. 12, 1918, a British squadron finally arrived before Tallinn, (the Estonian name for Reval) which guaranteed us protection on the coast. It brought us in addition, several thousand rifles, and, best of all, machine guns, which we lacked so badly. Three bodies of volunteers from Finland also came to aid us. These volunteers fought for the first time on Jan. 8, and in that engagement their 4th Company distinguished itself brilliantly, taking two villages. After having seen two-thirds of our country invaded by the Bolsheviks, we were enabled to resume the offensive. During the days of Jan. 4, 6, and 7 the Estonian troops continued to force back the Bolsheviks all along the coast, while turning their flank at another point and cutting their communications with Walk. The communiqué of Jan. 9 announced the capture of two small Bolshevik headquarters companies, as well



as some machine guns and cannon. New successes followed on the 10th and 11th. But, despite all our efforts, the struggle remains extremely unequal.

We have almost no cannon. We have absolutely no airships, machine guns, automobiles, or tanks. We have always been in need of money, save for the small loan which we were able to obtain in Finland. We have appealed now to France and Great Britain. We expect them to hear our plea. If the Allies desert us our first successes will have been things of yesterday, and we will succumb, without even having been able to arm the people in our villages.

Early in February, almost the whole of Eastern Ukraine, including the cities of Kharkov, Poltava, Yekaterinoslav, and the Donetz mining region, as well as Zhitomir, in Volhynia, was under Bolshevik control. The presence of allied warships in the Black Sea ports was apparently the only circumstance which prevented the Bolsheviks from spreading their authority to the Black Sea littoral. The Ukrainian Government was reported to have moved to Vinnitza and a Soviet Government was set up in Kharkov. Early in January, General Denikin's forces were said to have inflicted a defeat on the Bolsheviks in the Caucasus.

#### SITUATION IN SIBERIA

About the middle of January the French General, Jules Janin, was appointed supreme chief of the allied forces in Russia, for the purpose of inaugurating unity of command on the Siberian front. On Jan. 20, the city of Ufa fell to the Bolsheviks, and the associated Czech and Russian forces retreated to Zlatoust, 140 miles to the northeast. The defeat was ascribed to the failure of supplies to arrive from Vladivostok, owing to the interruption of traffic over the Trans-Siberian. The next important city to be captured by the Soviet army was Orenburg. General Dutet, commander of the anti-Bolshevik forces there, fell back in a northerly direction. Small contingents of French and British troops were sent to his assistance. On the other hand, Siberian troops took Saranpol, Province of Tobolsk, killing 200 Red Guards and annihilating two divisions of Bolsheviks at Kungur, fifty miles south-east of Perm.

A cable from the headquarters of the American Expeditionary Forces in France, received in Washington on Feb. 12, estimated the total American casualties in Siberia at ten officers and 314 men, of whom three officers and 133 men died from various causes.

Few changes occurred in the position of the Siberian Government at Omsk, headed by Admiral Kolchak. The Omsk Government was recognized by General Denikin, anti-Bolshevik leader in Southern Russia; General Krasnov, the Hetman of the Don Cossacks, and General Filimonov, the Hetman of the Kuban Cossacks. Much dissatisfaction, however, was aroused among the democratic elements of the Siberian population by some of the measures of the Omsk Government; for instance, by the orders forbidding political discussion at the convention of delegates of Zemstvos and town Dumas, which met at Vladivostok in the latter part of January.

An agreement was reached between the United States and the Allies for joint control of the Siberian railways. According to an announcement made on Feb. 12 by Acting Secretary of State Frank L. Polk, the Siberian Railway system, including the Chinese Eastern Railway, is to be supervised by an inter-allied committee headed by a Russian and comprising representatives from the United States, Japan, Great Britain, France, Italy, and China, while the economic and technical management will be centred in a board presided over by John F. Stevens, head of the American Railway Commission to Siberia. "The purpose of the agreement," the announcement says, "is to assist the Russians in Siberia in regaining their normal conditions of life and has been reached upon a definite understanding that the railways are to be operated for the interests of the people of Siberia."

#### ADMIRAL KOLCHAK'S COUP

The authentic story of the coup d'état of Nov. 18, 1918, which led to the establishment of Kolchak's dictatorship, was told by Nikolai Avksentyev, head of the overthrown Omsk Government, and Vladimir Zenzinov, a member of the Directorate of Five, elected at Ufa. The



coup d'état, it appears, was effected by a number of reactionary army officers, assisted by some of the members of the Government itself. The two narrators, together with Rogoski, the Minister of the Interior, were arrested at the home of the latter, at Omsk, by a group of drunken and arrogant officers, and taken in a motor truck to Colonel Krasilnikov's barracks, where they were kept under lock for two days. This was done with the knowledge of several members of the Government and of Admiral Kolchak. The prisoners were released for one evening, arrested again the next morning, and hurried in a special train to the Chinese frontier.

On the day when the members of the overthrown government were deported from Omsk, the officers who had arrested them were subjected to what Mr. Avksentyev calls a mock trial. The officers were acquitted and commended for their act. Mr. Zenzinov closes his narrative with the following words:

A group of adventurers, blinded madmen and traitors, raised their hands against the lawful government because they were dissatisfied with its impartiality and nonpartisanship. They thought that the great country, with the democratic forces which have awakened to a new life after the overthrow of Czarism, could go back to the old forms of life—to reaction and monarchy. The facts already indicate that they were wrong. The Government of Kolchak is experiencing more hardships than the all-Russian Government, because the Kolchak Government has brought new chaos into the order we established and thus has complicated the problem of the regeneration of a great and free Russia.

### THE RED ARMY

The Moscow Government has succeeded in shaping a considerable armed force and subjecting it to a rigid discipline. This army, the so-called Red Army, which gave place to the Red Guard and to regiments of freebooters, is recruited by conscription and officered partly by

officers of the old army, partly by graduates of Bolshevik military schools. According to the Allied Intelligence Department at Archangel, the old régime army officers serving in the Soviet army are controlled by Military Commissaries, and in case of desertion their families are held responsible. Conscription is enforced rigidly, and there is systematic military training and instruction.

A Helsingfors dispatch of Feb. 4 quoted a Bolshevik decree ordering the mobilization of all men between the ages of 29 and 45 years. It was reported from London on Feb. 13 that new schools for officers and aviators were being opened. According to information furnished by a Russian delegate at Berne, the entire strength of the Red Army which is operating in Siberia, the Caucasus, the Don district, the Ukraine, Poland, and Lithuania is estimated in Moscow at 750,000 men, including 60,000 Chinese soldiers. The command is nominally in the hands of Trotzky, but the military operations are controlled by General Vacetis, Commander in Chief of the Soviet forces, who is a Lett by birth and a notable strategist, and by several subordinate Generals of considerable efficiency, including Antonov, a veteran of the Russo-Japanese war; Horokin, a former school teacher, and Stupin, an old régime General. The General Staff headquarters are at Arzamas, near Kazan.

During the second half of 1918 the Soviet Commissariat of War spent 7,773,000,000 rubles, while during the first half of the year the military budget of the Soviet amounted only to 644,000,000 rubles. The financial report covering the entire year showed a probable deficit of 43,000,000,000 rubles, the total expenditures being 47,000,000,000 and the income, owing to the Government's inability to collect property taxes, not exceeding the sum of 4,000,000,000 rubles.



# Red Russia Described by Eyewitnesses

## Senate Inquiry Into Bolshevism

**T**HE investigation by the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, begun Feb. 11, 1919, shed some new light on the Red régime in Russia. Two of the principal witnesses at the hearing were Dr. W. C. Huntington, who from 1916 until the early Fall of 1918 was in Russia as the Commercial Attaché of the American Embassy at Petrograd, and Dr. George S. Simons, Superintendent since 1907 of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Russia and Finland, one of the last Americans to leave Russia.

Dr. Huntington said that not more than 8 per cent. of the Russian people were in favor of the Bolsheviki. They were held in submission, he added, by terroristic means and by a mercenary force of soldiers made up principally of Letts and Chinese. He said that he left Moscow on Aug. 16 last, accompanied by officials of other allied nations, in each instance the nation concerned leaving one official behind to care for its affairs and nationals. In the case of the United States the official left behind was Consul General Poole.

In answer to a question as to the extent of murder by official order in Russia, Dr. Huntington produced a copy of an order addressed to all Soviets in Russia, which called for the slaughter "en masse" of all persons who failed to support the Bolshevik régime. The order was issued by M. Petrovski, the Bolshevik Commissary for Home Affairs. It was dated Sept. 5, 1918, and read:

To all Soviets—The murder of Volodarski and Uritski, the attempt on Lenin and the shooting of masses of our comrades in Finland, Ukraine, the Don, and Czechoslovakia, the continual discovery of conspiracies in our rear, open acknowledgment by the Right Social Revolutionary Party and other counter-revolutionary radicals of their part in these conspiracies, together with the insignificant extent of serious repressions and shooting of masses of White Guards and Bourgeoisie on the part of the Soviets, all these things show that notwithstanding frequent pronouncements urging mass

terror against the Social Revolutionists, White Guards and Bourgeoisie no real terror exists.

Such a situation should decidedly be stopped. An end should be put to weakness and softness. All Right Social Revolutionists known to local Soviets should be immediately arrested. Numerous hostages should be taken from the Bourgeoisie and officer classes.

At the slightest attempt to resist or the slightest movement among the White Guards, shooting of masses of hostages should be begun without fail. Initiative in this matter rests especially with the local Executive Committees.

All branches of the Government must take measures to seek out and arrest persons hiding under false names and shoot without fail anybody connected with the work of the White Guards. All the above measures should be put immediately into execution, and indecisive action on the part of local Soviets must be reported to the People's Commissary for Home Affairs. Not the slightest hesitation or the slightest indecisiveness in using mass terror.

PETROVSKI.

### FOOD CONDITIONS

Three letters were read into the record by Dr. Huntington, all from a person of the highest standing, still in Russia and whose name for that reason was not disclosed for publication. These letters painted a terrible picture of conditions in the Russian capital. The first, in part, reads:

I am glad you are not here just now. Living conditions are awfully hard. Have you ever seen people dying in the streets? I did three times, two men and one old woman. \* \* \* They were not sick, just horribly thin and pale.

It's awfully hard, and I would not have believed it if I had not seen it myself. These three cases illustrate conditions in Petrograd better than description. People are dying quietly, horribly quietly, without groan or curse, poor, helpless creatures, slaves of the terrible régime of today.

The next letter was dated Sept. 20 last. In part it reads:

Today Mr. Poole (American Consul General at Moscow) left Russia. He was the last link between your human world over there and the madhouse here. You cannot imagine what is going on in this



country. Everything that is cultured, wealthy, accomplished, or educated is being persecuted and systematically destroyed.

We all live under a perpetual strain under fear of arrest and execution. Yesterday bulletins appeared on the corners of all the streets announcing that the Allies and the bourgeoisie have been spreading cholera and hunger all over Russia and calling for the open slaughter of the latter. \* \* \*

People here are starving in accordance with four categories. The first category, the workmen, get one-fourth of a pound of bread and two herrings every two days. The second category, the workmen who do easy work, get one-eighth of a pound and two herrings every two days. The third category, the people who "drink other people's blood," that is, people who live by mental work, get two herrings every two days and no bread, while the fourth category, the others who "drink other people's blood," sometimes get two herrings, generally nothing at all. I inclose the slip from the official paper which mentions these four categories.

People who have a little money run away from Russia. They sell all they possess and just run. They go mainly to the Baltic provinces and to the Ukraine. And you know it is the German Consulate there which helps them to get permits and tickets.

The third and last letter, dated about Oct. 1, tells of four new decrees, the first, concerning the seizure of bourgeois lodgings; the second, forced hard labor for the bourgeoisie; the third, requisition of warm clothes for the Red Army, and the fourth, concerning the distribution of food.

### INDUSTRIAL CHAOS

Dr. Huntington said that all papers other than Bolshevik organs were suppressed. When asked what were the results of the nationalization of industries he replied that in nearly every case the factories had come to grief. Among the committees of workmen that had been placed in charge of the various factories when the decree of nationalization was issued, factions had sprung up, and friction and quarrels developed over details, with the result that few of the factories, if any, continued to run. Dr. Huntington added:

The principal industry left in Russia now is printing paper money. I have seen the complete overthrow in Russia of all that we know in human life as it

exists here at home. I have seen a condition of absolute chaos in all human relations develop in Russia. I have seen conditions attained that amount to nothing less than a reign of absolute terrorism.

Those in authority take any measures they see fit, no matter how unscrupulous. Men and women are held as hostages. Their army is made up principally of Lettish mercenaries and Chinese. They are also using some Austro-Hungarians. To the so-called army have been added other citizens who are forced to serve through threats against their wives and little children.

The armies they are reported to have are not fired by loyalty to a great cause but are to a large extent made up of men whose condition is such that they have joined in order to be clothed and fed.

Dr. Huntington said that 85 per cent. of the Russian population was of the peasant class, and that 7 per cent. of the population were workmen. This 92 per cent., he said, no longer sympathized with the revolution, and was held in check by the terrorist machine.

### MILLIONS FOR PROPAGANDA

That the Bolshevik group in Russia is spending millions of dollars in propaganda in other countries was asserted. In this connection Major Lowry Humes, the Judge Advocate in charge of the examination of witnesses, produced an official translation of a Bolshevik Government order appropriating 2,000,000 rubles for propaganda purposes in enemy, friendly, and neutral countries. The order, which is said to be one of many, and was placed in the record as official proof, was dated December, 1917. It reads:

Order—

For the appropriation of 2,000,000 rubles for the requirements of the revolutionary internationalist movement.

Whereas, The Soviet authority stands on the ground of the principles of the international solidarity of the proletariat and the brotherhood of the workers of all countries; and

Whereas, The struggle against the war and imperialism can lead to complete victory only if conducted on an international scale.

The Council of People's Commissaries considers it absolutely necessary to take every possible means, including expenditure of money, for the assistance of the Left Internationalist wing of the workingman movement in all countries,



whether these countries are at war or in alliance with Russia or are maintaining a neutral position.

To this end the Council of People's Commissaries orders the appropriation for the requirements of the revolutionary international movement, to be put at the disposal of the foreign representatives of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, of 2,000,000 rubles.

LENINE.  
TROTSKY.  
GOUCH-BRUEVICH.  
GARBUNOV.

Dr. Simons, who was before the subcommittee on Feb. 12, declared that the Bolshevik ascendancy in Russia was due, in the main, to the influx of agitators from the east side of New York City. He said:

I should like to make it plain that among my best friends and among the finest Americans I have known are men of Jewish blood. The unpleasant facts that I shall have to disclose in nowise refer to them. The persons that have gone into Russia and joined in this diabolical thing over there are apostate Jews, men who deny their God and who have forsaken the religion and the teachings of their fathers.

Dr. Simons testified that a catechism of atheism had been added to the curriculum of the Russian public schools. He declared:

The Bolshevik is not only an atheist but he also seeks to make all religions impossible. They assert that all misery is due to the superstition that there is a God. One of their officials told me: "We now propose to enlighten our children, and with this purpose in view, we are issuing a catechism on atheism for use in all the schools." The man who told me this was the Commissary for Enlightenment and Education.

In reply to an inquiry as to what part the Germans had in the forwarding of the plans of the Bolsheviks, Dr. Simons stated that all the German newspapers in Russia which had been suppressed by the old régime reappeared simultaneously with the accession of the Bolsheviks to power, and that everything German or pro-German was fostered. Upon being asked the real attitude of the Bolsheviks as regarded the two groups of belligerents in the war, the witness said:

Lenine and Trotsky were always saying bitter things against the Allies. They scattered posters in which they described the Allies as the "Mood-drinking and

flesh-eating Allies." They named France and England, but, as I recollect it, did not specify the United States, the reason, in the opinion of the allied diplomatic representatives, being what may be described as a sort of strategical trick. They figured it out that in the event Bolshevism failed, as they knew it might, they would need a land of refuge, and they wanted the United States to be their asylum.

Dr. Simons told of the wholesale murder of innocent civilians, the outraging of young girls by the Red Guard, the seizure without legal process of all property, the urging of young girls to go into the streets to follow a life of prostitution, the tying together of helpless people and throwing them into a river to drown, the absolute suppression of free speech and a free press, and the official starving of those who do not indorse Bolshevik teachings and programs.

On Feb. 13 two American Vice Consuls, Ralph M. Dennis of Chicago and Robert F. Leonard of Minneapolis, who had recently returned from Russia, were heard by the investigating committee. Mr. Dennis declared that in the ten months that he spent in Russia under Bolshevik rule he had visited many of the large cities, and during that time had never seen a single carpenter or mason at work, and that everything was allowed to go to destruction. Farming still continues, but, according to estimates, only about 10 per cent. of the normal acreage is under cultivation.

Mr. Leonard stated that the Bolsheviks aimed at free love and hoped to do away with marriage, planning for the establishment of contract marriage. He told of the organization of what is known as Committees of the Poor, in order to control those who possessed anything. He said:

These committees were put up by the Central Government. Their members are drawn from the riff-raff, the men who drank up all they had, the utterly worthless. The old Soviets, owing to the fact that the peasants in them owned land, could not be controlled, so they put these committees in power to handle the situation. I know of villages in which there were no eligibles for these committees, and in such instances Lenine sent in "poor eligibles" to take the positions.

The witness told of the condition to which the City of Petrograd had been



reduced by Bolshevism. Before the ascendancy of the Bolsheviks, Petrograd had been a city of 2,000,000 inhabitants; at the time of his departure, Nov. 13, 1918, its population numbered about half a million.

#### MME. BRESHKOVSKAYA'S STORY

Mme. Breshkovskaya, who is known all over Russia as the "Grandmother of the Revolution," and who has been exiled by the Bolsheviks, appeared before the Senate Committee on Feb. 14. Among other things she said:

In the little more than one year of Bolshevik rule there have been twice as many Russians, men, women, and children, killed as there were soldiers killed at the front during the almost three years that Russia was actively in the war. For instance, there were 2,000 officers in one prison who were killed at one time. Every man, woman, or child who opposes Bolshevism in any way risks his or her life.

Everything that made life worth while has gone. Every day trainloads of supplies and valuable things leave for Germany from Moscow. In Russia there is no industry, the schools are closed, and if they were open there would be no books, not even any ink, for the pupils. All over Russia there are no schools now. There is no food to amount to anything, no clothes, nothing at all. Transportation is paralyzed. We have no tools or implements of any kind, not even scissors or knives.

Two years ago, when the Czar was overthrown, we were happy. We expected, and had reason to expect, excellent laws, we expected peace and political and social freedom. None of these things has been realized. We thought we were going to get a National Assembly and a Constitution, and we got neither. For six months we were free, and then came those German-dominated Bolsheviks.

The Germans had been preparing for years—we know it now—for this very thing. Their spies have been everywhere in Russia for a long, long time. It was out of German spying and intrigue that Lenin and Trotsky came. Trotsky and Lenin and the group supporting them received millions from Germany for propaganda, and they carried it to a gruesome success. In the Autumn of 1917 we saw the clouds gathering, and we hoped and prayed that our allies would come.

\* \* \* Today Russia is in ruins. If you had given us 50,000 good soldiers there would have been no Bolshevism. The peasants are against the Bolsheviks, but they have no arms. The Bolshevik rule with an army of Letts, Chinese, Magyars, and Germans.

[Further important testimony given before the Senate Judiciary Committee in the later days of this investigation will be published in the next issue of CURRENT HISTORY.]

#### LETTER FROM AN ARCHBISHOP

The Archbishop of Canterbury made public in London on Feb. 14 a letter from the Archbishop of Omsk, President of the Supreme Administration of the Orthodox Church in Russia, which gave these further facts:

Having seized supreme power in Russia in 1917 the Maximalists proceeded to destroy not only the cultivated classes of society but have also swept away religion itself, the representatives of the Church, and religious monuments venerated by all.

The Kremlin cathedrals of Moscow and those in the towns of Yaroslav and Simferopol have been sacked and many churches have been defiled. Historical sacristies as well as the famous libraries of the Patriarchs of Moscow and Petrograd have been pillaged. Vladimir, Metropolitan of Kiev, twenty Bishops, and hundreds of priests have been assassinated. Before killing them the Bolsheviks cut off the limbs of their victims, some of whom were buried alive. Religious processions followed by great masses of people at Petrograd, Toula, Kharkov, and Eoligalitch were fired upon.

Wherever the Bolsheviks are in power the Christian Church is persecuted with even greater ferocity than in the first three centuries of the Christian era. Nuns are being violated, women made common property, and license and the lowest passions are rampant. One sees everywhere death, misery, and famine. The population is utterly cast down and subjected to most terrifying experiences. Some are purified by their sufferings, but others succumb.

Only in Siberia and the region of the Ural Mountains, where the Bolsheviks have been expelled, is the existence of the civil and religious population protected under the aegis of law and order.



# Events in the Republic of Poland

## Under Paderewski's Government

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1919]\*

THE course of events in the new-born Republic of Poland during the early weeks of 1919 was marked by desultory fighting on four different fronts. In Eastern Galicia the clash with the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) continued. The fighting was centred about the Cities of Lemberg and Przemyśl, which the Poles took possession of late last year. The new year found these two cities besieged by the Ukrainians. It was reported on Jan. 14 that two thousand persons were killed at Przemyśl as a result of the bombardment of the city by Ukrainians. A week later the two cities were still holding out, although completely surrounded and fiercely shelled by land and by air. According to a Warsaw report of Feb. 3, the Poles were holding the enemy in check in the region of Lemberg.

Soon after the conclusion of the armistice the Poles of Posen (Poznań) began to take things into their own hands. The Prussians at some points offered resistance, and fighting ensued. Severe conflicts, with varying results, on the banks of the Netze and at Wissenhoche were reported on Jan. 10. About the same time the Germans reoccupied Lakel, west of Thorn. According to a Paris dispatch of Jan. 28, the German General Staff dispatched two army corps to the Polish front. On Jan. 30 the German troops took by storm the town of Kulmsee, a railway junction of considerable importance. Ten days later the Polish forces were said to have captured the towns of Schubin, Netzwalde, and Gruenthal. They were also reported to be threatening the railroad from Thorn to Berlin.

In view of these developments, the British Government requested Germany to refrain from further provoking the Polish population of Prussia, Posen, and Silesia. In reply, the German Government pointed out that it was forced to take military measures to restore order

in response to appeals coming from the German population, and that it could not suffer "ambitious imperialism" on the part of the Poles "to reign supreme." A Copenhagen dispatch of Feb. 8 reported the conclusion of a German-Polish armistice, to include the territory of German Poland and to become effective the next day.

Poland was also at war with the Czechoslovak State. On Jan. 24 the great powers associated at the peace table issued to all Europe and Asia a warning that hostilities must cease everywhere and that all territorial claims would be prejudiced by attempts to back them up by military force. On that very day the Czechoslovak forces wrested two Moravian towns from the Poles.

The fighting has gone on ever since, the results, upon the whole, favoring the Czechs. The latter took possession of the mining region of Karvin, on which Poland depends, to a large extent, for its mineral resources. According to an Amsterdam dispatch of Jan. 31, the Czechoslovak troops occupied the whole of Austrian East Silesia after a series of fierce clashes with the Poles. Premier Paderewski entered a protest against the Czechoslovak invasion of Silesia.

At its session of Jan. 29 the Peace Conference took up the situation in Poland, especially with reference to the conflict between the Polish and Czechoslovak troops in Silesia. An opportunity was given to the representatives of the two nations to state their views. The Polish spokesmen said that Poland laid claim to the territory she possessed before the partitions, including Posen and Thorn, and that she wished to have free access to the sea by way of Danzig, as well as a strip of territory to protect the road to that port. They further asked for the return of the Polish Army, then in France, and they assured the conference



that their country could raise a large army to deal adequately with either the Germans or the Bolsheviks. They also argued that the population of the Duchy of Teschen, Austrian Silesia, was 55 per cent. Polish, and that the district therefore ought to belong to Poland. The Czechoslovak delegates maintained that the district contained coalfields which were indispensable to the industrial development of their country.

The Peace Conference notified the delegates that acts of hostility between them must be ended, and that, pending the final establishment of a Czech-Polish frontier, the disputed zone would be occupied by allied forces. To this the representatives of both nationalities agreed.

It was also decided to send an allied commission to Silesia for the purpose of adjusting the conflict between the Poles and the Czechs over the Teschen coalfields. This commission succeeded in arranging a truce between the two nations. A Warsaw dispatch of Feb. 7, however, reported that, in spite of the truce, the Czechoslovak forces were advancing through Silesia. According to information received by the Polish National Headquarters at Paris, the Czechoslovak troops invaded Poland from the south, crossing the Galician and Hungarian frontiers.

The northeastern frontier of Poland continued to be threatened by the advance of the Russian Soviet troops. It was reported in the middle of January that the Bolshevik forces, estimated at 30,000, were converging on Warsaw over three railway routes. Later the march of the Soviet Army slowed up. Polish contingents were fighting the Bolsheviks in Lithuania and elsewhere in Western Russia.

The outstanding events in the inner political life of the country during the month were the formation of a Coalition Ministry and the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. It became known on Jan. 19 that Ignace Jan Paderewski had formed a complete Ministry as follows:

Premier and Foreign Minister—M. PADEREWSKI.

Minister of the Interior—M. WOJCIECHOWSKI.

Minister of Commerce—M. HONCIA.  
Minister of Finance—M. ENGLICH.  
Minister of Public Health—M. JANISSEEWSKI.

Minister of Communications—M. EBERHARDT.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs—M. LINDQ.

Minister of Agriculture—M. JANICKI.

Minister of Arts—M. PRZESMYCKI.

Minister of Labor—M. IVONOVSKI.

Minister of Food—M. MINKIEWICZ.

Minister of Justice—M. SUINSKI.

Minister of Public Works—M. PRUCHNIK.

This Provisional Government of Poland was accorded recognition by the United States. The following message, made public on Jan. 29, was sent to Premier Paderewski by Secretary Lansing from Paris:

The President of the United States directs me to extend to you, as Foreign Minister and Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Polish Government, its sincere wishes for your success in the high office which you have assumed and his earnest hope that the Government of which you are a part will bring prosperity to the Republic of Poland.

It is my privilege to extend to you at this time my personal greetings and officially to assure you that it will be a source of gratification to enter into official relations with you at the earliest opportunity. To render to your country such aid as is possible at this time, as it enters upon a new cycle of independent life, will be in due accord with that spirit of friendliness which has in the past animated the American people in their relations with your countrymen.

Reports from Poland indicated that the various factions were united. The new Government announced its decision to summon the Constituent Diet on Feb. 9. At the elections to this assembly, the party led by Paderewski and Dmowski obtained 50 per cent., the Socialist Party only 15 per cent., of the total votes. The number of eligible voters amounted to 435,000.

The actual voters numbered 320,000, many women among them. The franchise was also accorded to the Jews and a warning was issued against attacks upon them. The program of Paderewski's party includes defense of the frontiers and re-establishment of order, immediate provisioning of the country, regulation of State finances, protection of the working classes, and



development of industry. The party favors distribution of land purchased by the State, but opposes confiscation.

The Constituent Assembly met on Feb. 9. It included about 200 members, one woman among them. The seats were distributed as follows: National Democrats, 91; Polish Peasants, 51; Peasants' Union, 19; Socialists, 14; Workmen's Unions, 7; Jewish Party, 8; United

Polish Peasants, 6; German Colonists, 2. The Paderewski Government has introduced conscription and abolished the Soldiers' Councils. Military instruction is conducted by former German officers of Polish descent, while the higher ranks of the army consist mostly of Russian Poles. There exists a Polish Vistula fleet of motor boats and small steamers, with a base at Modelin.

## CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 18, 1919]

### GERMAN AUSTRIA'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

ON Sunday, Feb. 16, German Austria held a general election, about 4,000,000 men and women voting for delegates to a National Assembly, which is convening in Vienna on March 4 with 255 members. The Assembly will frame and adopt a national constitution and decide whether there shall be incorporated therein a measure providing for union, federation, or alliance with Germany. For these reasons the life of the National Assembly will be two years. The German National Assembly at Weimar took provisional action to admit German Austria with the status of three States into the "Imperial Republic" of the Fatherland.

There is one party in Austria which is opposed to a Great Germany. This is the Party of Christian Socialists which, although having 73 seats in the old Reichsrat out of a total of 516, has now greatly augmented its forces under the slogan of "Austria for Austrians," and includes the anti-Semites, merchants, and several conservative labor factions.

The leading party is the Social Democratic, which in the Reichsrat had only forty-nine seats but later absorbed most of the radical members of the German Nationalists, who held 100 seats. And there is still the German Nationalist Party, now, as always, for union with Germany, and the new Bourgeois Democratic Party.

For electoral purposes all German-speaking Austria was divided into thirty-

seven districts, each entitled to from one to twelve delegates. But eight of these districts, with seventy-one seats, are located in Bohemia (Czechoslovakia) and seven, with fifty-two seats, are in Carinthia, Styria, (organized as part of Yugoslavia,) and in Tyrol, (the Trentino organized by Italy,) so no elections were held there. Vienna, with seven districts, elected forty-eight delegates.

The election was on the principle of proportional representation, or one delegate to every 100,000 of the population. Every Austrian citizen who was 20 years old on Jan. 1 and was on Dec. 13, 1918, a resident of the German Austrian State, was entitled to vote by equal, direct, and secret ballot. The election regulations provided that no intoxicating liquor should be sold on election day or on the day preceding.

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### DEPORTING SEDITIOUS ALIENS

OLE HANSON, Mayor of Seattle, in the heart of a remarkable statement describing how he had put down a treasonable revolt in his city, said on Feb. 8:

I take the position that our duty as citizens stands ahead of the demand of any organization on the face of the earth. The union men, the business men, the churchmen, must first of all be citizens. Any man who owes a higher allegiance to any organization than he does to the Government should be sent to a Federal prison or deported. Let the National Government stop pandering to and conciliating the men who talk against it.



Even as he wrote the National Government was already making answer. For from the Far West there was proceeding toward the Eastern seaboard two carloads of undesirables—all potential anarchists, Bolsheviki, members of the I. W. W. Their status as aliens permitted them to be deported to the countries whence they came. Most of them were destined for Italy.

Before the Senate committee competent witnesses testified that the principal features of the Bolshevik conspiracy were hatched in New York's east side.

The trainload of undesirables arrived in New York on Feb. 11, and the human cargo was transferred to Ellis Island, there to await outgoing steamers. Writs of habeas corpus were issued only to be declined by the judicial authorities, for the fifty-four delinquents had been regularly tried, convicted, and sentenced to deportation by Federal courts, sitting all the way from Seattle to Chicago.

Immigration authorities state that although there will be no wholesale deportations there are in custody about 6,000 undesirable aliens who will, as circumstances permit, be returned to the lands whence they came.

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#### SIX BILLIONS A YEAR IN TAXES

THE War Revenue bill which passed the House on Feb. 8 with a vote of 310 to 11, the latter being seven Democrats and four Republicans, affected every phase of life, every sort of individual, socially as well as industrially. It broke all records and was the greatest revenue raiser in history. It levied alike on incomes and profits, on necessities and luxuries, and in its multitude of minor assessments it reached down into every pocket. It was estimated that it would produce \$6,070,000,000. The income tax, concerning the individual, the corporation, excess profits, and estates, would produce, it was estimated, over \$4,000,000,000; then came the excise taxes on luxuries—from jewelry to sporting goods, from automobiles to yachts—which are expected to produce over \$1,000,000,000; and somewhere near the latter sum is looked for from a series of special

taxes covering practically everything concerning human enjoyment and comfort that has not been already scheduled.

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#### A NEW BRITISH EMBARGO

EARLY IN January, 1919, the British Government established an embargo against certain articles imported from other countries. The articles were, in the main, those which during the war had required a license in order to be imported, but which, with the signing of the armistice, had been placed on the free list. The articles affected by the embargo fell into two classes. The restrictions on one class were scheduled to begin after March 1, 1919. The articles contained in this group were chiefly in the nature of machine tools and machinery driven by power. The category of goods on which freedom to import was scheduled to begin July 1, 1919, consisted of food and raw materials. The British Government declared that it was forced to subject these again to license on account of the international situation, as it was well known that there was a worldwide shortage in them and the general subject was under discussion at Paris. Members of the United States Senate belonging to both political parties attacked the British embargo on the ground that it would injure American industries. It was later modified in some particulars.

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#### RIFLE STRENGTH OF THE ALLIES AND OF GERMANY

THE United States War Department, on Feb. 5, 1919, made public official estimates of the rifle strength of the Allies and of Germany during the war. Rifle strength was defined as the "number of men standing in the trenches ready to go over with the bayonet."

When Germany struck its great blow in the Spring of 1918 it had about 1,500,000 men so classified, against an allied total of about 1,250,000. By June 1 the Germans reached their peak with 1,639,000 rifles. The allied strength on June 1 was 1,496,000. Shortly afterward the Allies reached a total of 1,547,000, composed of 778,000 French, 515,000 British, and



254,000 American. America's contribution had risen from 65,000 in April. On July 1 Germany's power had begun to wane, and for the first time it was definitely inferior in rifle strength, with 1,412,000, compared with 1,556,000 for the Allies.

In mid-October the American strength had risen to an estimated force of 350,000. On Sept. 1 the allied line was at its greatest strength, with 1,682,000, against Germany's 1,339,000. While the Allies had shrunk in rifles to 1,485,000 on Nov. 1, Germany's last hope was gone, as she faced that army with only 866,000 bayonets.

The following table, prepared by General Pershing's staff, shows the comparative rifle strength of the armies for the eight months covered:

	Allies.	Germany.
April 1.....	1,245,000	1,569,000
May 1.....	1,343,000	1,600,000
June 1.....	1,496,000	1,639,000
July 1.....	1,556,000	1,412,000
Aug. 1.....	1,672,000	1,395,000
Sept. 1.....	1,682,000	1,339,000
Oct. 1.....	1,594,000	1,223,000
Nov. 1.....	1,485,000	866,000

The sudden decline of the German forces, beginning in June and again apparent in the swift drop during October, was accounted for by the fact that Germany had drawn into the lines during the Spring every available reserve, expecting to smash her way to victory before Winter came. These reserves were used up in the German attack and the allied assaults which followed, while the American force continued to increase.

In a rough way, the American rifle strength represented about 20 per cent. of the total American force in France continuously. This accounts for the fact that with a total of more than 2,000,000 men in France on Nov. 11 the rifle strength in October was estimated at around 350,000 men.

The total strength of the United States Army on Nov. 11, when the armistice was signed, was 3,703,273 officers and men, including the Marine Corps on duty with the army in Europe. On Nov. 11 the American Army in Europe numbered 80,842 officers and 1,868,474 men, while 1,162 officers and 21,072 men were at sea en route to Europe. The marine

contingent in the expeditionary force on that date was 1,002 officers and 31,383 men, making the total European army strength either in France or en route there 2,003,935 officers and men.

In the United States on that date were 1,634,499 army personnel, and in the insular possessions, the Canal Zone, Alaska, &c., 55,735. The total strength of the Siberian expedition on that date was 298 officers and 8,806 men.

A table prepared by the War Department giving these figures follows:

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Army personnel in			
Europe .....	80,842	1,868,474	1,949,316
At sea en route to			
Europe .....	1,162	21,072	22,234
Total .....	82,004	1,889,506	1,971,550
Marines (on duty with army in Europe) .....	1,002	31,383	32,385
Total, including marines .....	83,006	1,920,929	2,003,915
Siberian Expedition .....	298	8,806	9,104
Total A. E. F. in Europe and Siberia .....	83,304	1,929,735	2,013,039
In United States...104,155	1,530,344	1,634,499	
In insular possessions, Alaska, &c. 1,977	53,758	55,735	
Grand total in army, excluding marines .....	188,434	3,482,454	3,670,888
Grand total in army, including marines .....	189,436	3,513,837	3,703,273

\* \* \*

#### SOCIALIST CONFERENCE AT BERNE

THE International Labor Congress, failing to find asylum in either Paris or Lausanne, finally convened in Berne, Switzerland, on Feb. 3. Neither the American Federation of Labor nor the Belgian Society of Workers is represented. Mr. Gompers, the head of the first, declined to give his sanction to Federation delegates meeting Germans while this country was still technically at war with them. The Belgian Government acted from similar motives. Frank Bohn, an American, was in attendance. The Executive Committee of the American Socialist Party selected Algernon Lee, a New York Alderman, and James O'Neal, editor of The New York Call, as delegates; they were given passports by



the State Department. It was announced that 125 delegates were in attendance, representing twenty-five nations.

Despite the denials of Arthur Henderson, the British delegate, and notwithstanding the backslidings of the German Socialist Democrats, the idea prevailing at Berne was that the Internationale should supersede individual national allegiance. This fact indicated the difference between the mental attitude of the Berne conference and that of the Labor Commission of the Peace Conference at Paris.

Mr. Henderson opened the Berne Congress and Hjalmar Branting, the Swedish Socialist leader, was elected President. The latter said that while the conference at Paris "represented the ruling classes, he hoped Berne would represent the working classes." The German delegates made several speeches sympathizing with the war sufferings wrought in Belgium and Northern France and partially blaming their own military masters for the war, but they indicated opposition to any punitive demands and refused to acknowledge that their country was responsible for the war.

The French and German delegates to the International Socialist Conference concurred in approving a plebiscite for Alsace-Lorraine to decide whether the in-

habitants desired to be under French or German rule.

The International Trade Union Conference adopted a motion insisting on the prompt and definite re-establishment of the international trade union body and calling for the summoning of a new international trade union conference not later than next May. The resolution was adopted by a majority of twenty-three votes, nearly all the delegates to the conference voting.

On motion of Camille Huysmans, a Belgian delegate, a resolution was adopted declaring that as allied prisoners were returned home from the Central Empires, German prisoners also should be returned, independently of legitimate complaints against Germany.

Demands for presentation to the Paris Peace Conference were agreed upon by the International Labor Conference. The demands include the establishment of an eight-hour day, with an uninterrupted rest period of thirty-six hours weekly, insurance against accidents and unemployment, the forbidding of night work in all countries for women workers, and of the employment of children under 15 years of age, and a six-hour day for youths between 15 and 18 years. The conference appointed delegates to present its demands to the Peace Conference.

## Chronology of the Armistice Period

Jan. 21 to Feb. 16, 1919

### UNITED STATES

The War Revenue bill, estimated to raise \$6,000,000,000 during the fiscal year, passed its final stages.

Army discharges in demobilization reached a total of 1,174,545 officers and men on Feb. 14, and the total number assigned for demobilization was 1,501,000. Up to Feb. 11, 305,000 soldiers abroad had embarked for home.

### ARMISTICE

General von Winterfeldt resigned as Chairman of the German Armistice Commission.

The Peace Conference on Feb. 13 decided on new armistice terms to be presented to Germany.

### PEACE CONFERENCE

The Supreme Council adopted President Wilson's proposal to ask all Russian factions, including the Bolsheviks, to meet the allied and associated Governments at Princes' Islands on Feb. 15. The Soviet Government, and the Governments of Ukraine, Crimea, Esthonia, the Lettish Republic, and Lithuania agreed to participate. William Allen White and George Davis Herron were appointed to represent the United States.

A resolution to create a League of Nations was adopted Jan. 25, and President Wilson was named Chairman of the commission to draft a plan. The completed draft of the constitution was read to the



conference by President Wilson on Feb. 14. The next day the President sailed for America.

### RUSSIA AND SIBERIA

Ufa, in the Urals, was captured by the Bolsheviks on Jan. 20, and the Russian and Czechoslovak forces fell back 140 miles to Zlatoust. A severe defeat for the Reds in Northern Russia was reported Jan. 22, and Trotzky gave orders not to defend Zinovieff. American and Russian troops on the Vaga River repulsed fierce attacks.

On Jan. 26 the Reds began an offensive to drive the Allies into the White Sea and capture Shenkursk.

Orenburg was taken by the Bolsheviks on Jan. 25.

Tarasevo was evacuated by the Americans Feb. 1, after a week's fighting, and the entire allied column was forced back forty miles.

The Soviet Government sent a note to the United States Government asking for a conference to discuss the withdrawal of American troops from Russia, Jan. 18.

Ensign Krylenko was arrested when he attempted to enter the anti-Bolshevik army of General Krasnoff for espionage purposes.

General Denikine, General Krasnoff, and General Filimonoff announced their adherence to the Omsk Government.

Sweden expelled the Soviet representatives at Stockholm, Jan. 25.

The Allies agreed on a plan for the control of Siberian railroads.

### UKRAINE

Soviet forces occupied Ekaterinoslav Jan. 27, and on Feb. 3 they took Kiev.

The Germans transferred the control of Brest-Litovsk to the Ukrainians.

### POLAND

Oderberg was captured by the Czechs from the Poles, Jan. 26.

Premier Paderewski protested to the Czechoslovak Government against the invasion of Silesia by Czechoslovak troops.

President Wilson recognized the Paderewski Government, Jan. 29.

The Peace Conference laid down rules for the temporary administration of the Teschen mining district, for which Poles and Czechs were fighting, and ordered the Poles and Germans to stop military operations against each other in Posen.

### JUGOSLAVIA

The United Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was recognized by Secretary Lansing, Feb. 7.

### GERMANY

Spartan revolutionists were ousted from Bremen on Feb. 4, after heavy fighting.

Eighty-five persons were killed and several hundred wounded. Majority Socialists established a new Government in the city.

Serious disorders broke out in Magdeburg, the capital of Prussian Saxony, Feb. 6, and the Reds fomented riots at Kiel, Hamburg, Düsseldorf, and other localities. Six persons were killed and fourteen wounded in Spartan riots in Berlin, Feb. 8.

The National Assembly opened at Weimar, Feb. 6. Friedrich Ebert was elected President of the German State and the new Government established.

### IRELAND

Twenty-five members of the Sinn Fein Society elected to the British House of Commons assembled in Dublin, Jan. 21, and formally constituted themselves the Irish Parliament. They adopted a declaration of independence and an address to the free nations of the world and appointed a committee to present the claims of Ireland to self-determination to the Peace Conference.

### TURKEY

The Cabinet resigned, Jan. 20, as a result of allied demands that Turkey restore property carried away during the war from occupied territories and cease drastic measures against Greeks and Armenians.

### PORTUGAL

A royalist revolt ostensibly in behalf of former King Manuel failed.

### LABOR

An International Labor and Socialist Conference convened at Berne, Feb. 3. The American Federation of Labor refused to take part in it.

Serious strikes occurred in Great Britain. The Clyde shipyards, the South Wales coal mines, and the railroads were affected. Practically the entire city of London was tied up.

In the United States the demand for shorter hours led to strikes in the textile mills of New England and New Jersey. A reduction in the wages of copper miners caused serious disturbances in Butte, Mon., and a demand for higher wages by shipbuilders in Seattle resulted in strikes which affected every industry in the city and necessitated the calling out of troops. Philadelphia shipyards were also affected by strikes. The silk workers and textile strikes were adjusted by shorter hours; the Pacific ship workers' strike failed.

### TRADE

Great Britain established an embargo against certain imports, to become effective March 1. The fear that it would seriously



affect American industries was voiced in the United States; later it was relaxed in some particulars.

The Allies lifted the embargo on the importation of many commodities to Holland and Scandinavia, and arranged for the return of a large part of the shipping under charter to the United States Ship-

ping Board. The new arrangement provided that all guarantees against re-exportation of commodities to enemy countries should continue in effect.

Drastic reduction in shipping rates by Great Britain was followed by similar reductions on the part of the United States Shipping Board.

## Solving New Shipping Problems

### Germany's Whole Merchant Fleet Used to Carry Returning Soldiers and Food for Europe

A THREE DAYS' conference was held at Treves from Jan. 15 to Jan. 17, 1919, between civilian delegates from America, Great Britain, France, and Italy and Germany to arrange for the transference of the German merchant marine to the Allies. Edward N. Hurley, the head of the United States Shipping Board, was elected Chairman by his allied associates. As a result of the conference and subsequent meetings, it was agreed that America and the Allies were to receive 3,000,000 tons of German shipping then in German ports, the tonnage to be devoted to carrying food to Europe—including Germany—and returning American and Australian soldiers to their home countries. Of the 3,000,000 tons, 2,300,000 were set aside for cargo-carrying purposes and 700,000 for passenger accommodation. All passenger tonnage was ready for use at the time of the agreement. Of the cargo-carrying tonnage to be handed over to the Allies, 1,000,000 tons were ready for immediate use. The German ships allotted to the United States for the return of American troops included the giant Hamburg-American liner *Imperator*, which is 5,000 tons less than the United States transport *Leviathan*, formerly the *Vaterland*. The steamships known to be in German ports at the time included seven large Hamburg-American liners and three belonging to the North German Lloyd Line. In addition there were several large German ships under construction and nearing completion.

Mr. Hurley, returning from Europe on Feb. 11, made the following statement in

regard to the tonnage which the conference at Treves decided Germany was to hand over to the Allies:

From information now at hand it appears that the total available German passenger tonnage suitable for carrying troops is more than 600,000 gross. This estimate does not include the *Bismarck* of 50,000 tons gross, which is not yet completed, nor the *Imperator*, sister ship of the U. S. S. *Leviathan*, which cannot be delivered for several months. Furthermore, this total does not include other large vessels such as the *Tirpitz*, *Hindenburg*, and *Columbus*, concerning which no reports have yet been received.

The estimate is based upon listed tonnage and upon information obtained from German delegates and from a commission of American engineers on board the scout cruiser *Chester* and the U. S. destroyer *Aylwin*, both now at Bremen, and who since Feb. 1 have been making a survey of German steamers in German ports. The United States share of this tonnage should run approximately to 300,000 gross of shipping suitable for the return of American troops. This should give the United States an additional troop-carrying capacity of more than 60,000 men per month.

A number of German ships are ready to put to sea at once. It is planned that these shall be manned temporarily by German officers and crews, and shall proceed immediately to British or French ports under the direction of the Naval Armistice Commission. Upon arrival at such British or French ports, German officers and crews will be returned and the ships turned over to the navy to man and operate for account of the War Department. The Navy Department, in anticipation of these new demands, has made preparations and has already assembled a large number of men and officers and is ready to man and officer all German ships as they may be delivered.

A large portion of the German tonnage



which is to be obtained will be ready to put to sea within the first five weeks. The rest will be delivered subsequently at varying dates. As soon as any of the German ships can be made ready they will put to sea immediately, and after being bunkered and provisioned in allied ports will proceed on their first trip across the Atlantic with United States troops.

Today we have 2,072 seagoing vessels of 6,470,396 gross tons under the American flag, as against 1,329 vessels of 6,364,926 gross tons of foreign shipping trading with the United States.

By Feb. 13, about 750,000 tons, deadweight, of German shipping had been named for the use of the Allied Maritime and Transport Council to be used in repatriating troops and carrying food, according to the following official announcement:

The Maritime Transport Council met Feb. 1, Feb. 4, and Feb. 11. Those present were MM. Clementel and Boisson for France, Signor Crespi for Italy, George R. Blee for the United States, and J. A. Salter for Great Britain.

Important decisions were made as to the allocation for management and use of Austrian and German tonnage. Passenger vessels will be mainly employed in the repatriation of troops and cargo vessels for the carriage of food to different ports in Europe, including liberated areas and enemy countries. The vessels are to be divided for the purposes of management among the associated Governments.

These arrangements were made on the understanding that the ultimate disposition of the vessels by the terms of peace would in no way be prejudiced and in order to make this a fact they are being administered in the meantime in trust for the associated Governments as a whole. They will fly the flag of the Allied Maritime Transport Service as well as the national flag of the country undertaking their management.

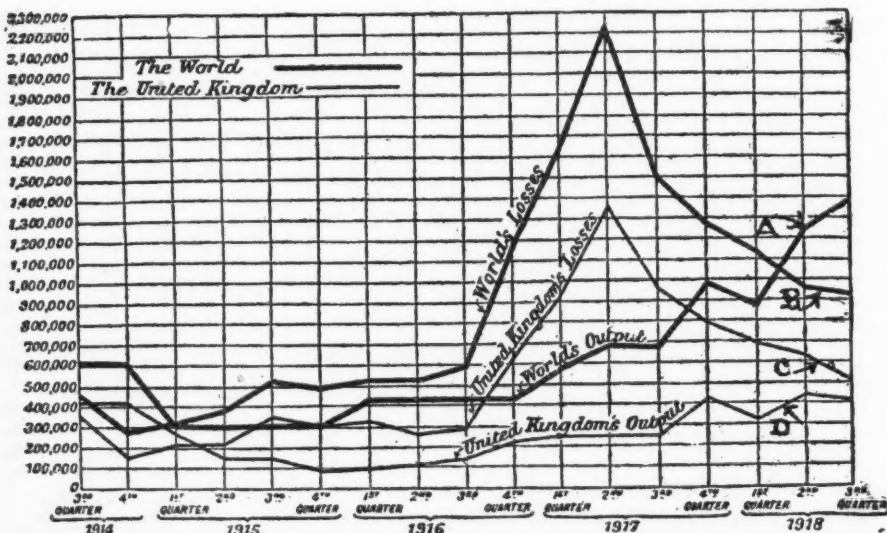
The council appointed delegates to proceed to Spa, together with representatives of the food departments and the naval authorities of the several Governments, to meet the representatives of the German Government Feb. 16 and arrange with regard to the delivery of vessels which the German Government was bound to hand over under the armistice of Jan. 16 and the Treves agreement of Jan. 17.

The preparation of a considerable number of vessels has been proceeding and about 750,000 tons, deadweight tonnage, has been named by the German Government and are now ready to sail. Meantime the associated Governments are making an examination on the spot of other German vessels in German ports.

#### FOUR YEARS' SHIP LOSSES

Although the United Kingdom was not invaded, Great Britain paid for victory in the loss of more than 9,000,000 tons of shipping, ten times as much as that lost by either France or Italy. The British losses were seventeen times as much as those of the United States.

The British Admiralty at the beginning



MERCHANT TONNAGE LOST DURING THE WAR THROUGH ENEMY ACTION AND MARINE RISKS. THE FIGURES AT THE LEFT REPRESENT GROSS TONNAGE



of 1919 published a statement showing the output and losses of merchant tonnage for the United Kingdom and for the world between August, 1914, and October, 1918. These official figures are shown on the diagram which accompanies this article. For ease of reference the graphs are marked A, B, C, and D, of which A and B show the world's output and losses respectively, while C and D represent the same values for the United Kingdom.

A striking feature of the diagram is the general resemblance of the graphs for the world and the United Kingdom. This is due to the preponderating share of the total world's tonnage and output owned by Britain, which amount before the war was nearly one-half of the total. During the second quarter of 1917, when the U-boat menace was at its height, the world's loss by submarine activity was 2,250,000 gross tons, which is only 500,000 tons less than was built in the world altogether during that year.

Comparing graphs D and A, we see that at the beginning of the war the United Kingdom output was about 420,000 tons per quarter, against the world's output of about 600,000 tons. In other words, the United Kingdom was responsible for about two-thirds of the total shipbuilding of the world. At the close of the war the United Kingdom output was 421,000 gross tons per quarter, (practically the same as at the outbreak of the war,) against the world's output of 1,400,000; thus the United Kingdom is producing now considerably less than one-third of the total, i. e., less than half of its former proportion.

#### AMERICAN SHIP LOSSES

Fifteen cargo ships, with a dead-weight tonnage of 103,692, were lost during 1918 by the Naval Overseas Transportation Service, according to a report made public by the District Supervisor of the Third Naval District. The removal of the ban of secrecy, vital during the war as a shield to these vessels and their crews, disclosed that six ships, aggregating 42,627 tons, were destroyed by enemy activity; five vessels, with a combined tonnage of 44,071,

were sunk in collision, and four vessels, totaling 16,994 tons, were destroyed by fire and explosion. Crews of navy cargo ships are said to have endured the greatest hardships of the war. "Not only were these crews confronted with the normal perils of the sea," says the report, "but they faced destruction from torpedo, collision, and other unforeseen accidents that might cause fire in inflammable cargoes." The personnel of the Naval Overseas Transportation Service at the present time includes 5,000 officers and 45,000 enlisted men.

#### DUTCH VESSELS RETURNED

Because tonnage had steadily increased since the signing of the armistice, the War Trade Board announced on Feb. 2, 1919, that eighty-seven Dutch ships under the control and in the service of the United States would be returned to Holland immediately and unconditionally. The ships were transferred at the conclusion of their current voyages. The War Trade Board issued a statement regarding the circumstances leading to the requisition of Dutch shipping, in which it said:

In October, 1917, the Holland Government Commission was sent over to this country to negotiate for an economic agreement. Holland agreed to charter the ships to us for a period of ninety days, provided the ships were used only outside the submarine zone. Provision was made in this agreement for a portion of this tonnage to be used in Swiss service and for Belgian relief, and it was agreed that for each ship sent to Holland in the service of Belgian relief a corresponding ship was to leave Holland for our ports. Meanwhile a general agreement in regard to resumption of trade with Holland was under discussion, but was not ratified.

And the provisional agreement of Jan. 25, 1918, was not carried into effect promptly by the Dutch Government. Holland, under pressure from Germany, was prevented from sending back ships to replace those sailing in the service of Belgian relief, as had been specified in the agreement.

On March 20, 1918, the President issued a proclamation authorizing the requisition of all Dutch shipping in our ports. Accordingly, on that day the Dutch ships in our ports were taken possession of by the United States Government, to be operated by the Shipping Board and the Navy Department. There were eighty-seven of



these ships, with an aggregate tonnage of 539,000 tons weight.

The Shipping Board on Feb. 5 also announced its readiness immediately to begin releasing to the Scandinavian Governments the shipping then under charter, or to cancel the contracts and return the vessels direct to their owners. There were under the Shipping Board control eighty-one Danish ships of 373,246 deadweight tons, sixty-one Norwegian ships of 278,495 deadweight tons, forty-six Norwegian sailing ships of 118,427 tons, and thirty-one Swedish steamers of 144,911 tons.

#### OCEAN RATES REDUCED

The first steps toward a restoration of normal transoceanic freight rates were taken by Great Britain and the United States in the early weeks of 1919.

The British Ministry of Shipping announced on Jan. 27 that freight rates on vessels free from Government requisition had been reduced 66 2-3 per cent. on shipments from the United States to Great Britain. This applied to all export commodities with the exception of cotton, which usually was classified under a special rating. This ruling also applied to British ships which had from 20 to 30 per cent. of their cargo space available, the rest being under the control of the Ministry of Shipping. This meant that the rate of \$3.50 per 100 pounds weight to Europe had been re-

duced to \$1, and by measurement the rate of \$1.75 per foot would be 50 cents.

The United States Shipping Board on the same day announced a reduction of about 66 2-3 per cent. in charges between Atlantic and Gulf ports and the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands.

To Marseilles, Cette, Genoa, and Naples the new rate was \$1.60 per 100 pounds, or 85 cents per cubic foot, against the old rate of \$75 per ton, rates based on weight or measurement at ship's option.

The new rate to the United Kingdom was \$1 per 100 pounds, or 50 cents a cubic foot, against the old rate of \$66 a ton, while the rate to Havre, Bordeaux, Antwerp, and Rotterdam was \$1.25 per 100 pounds, or 65 cents per cubic foot, against the old charge of \$65 a ton. At the same time the board announced similar rates from Atlantic and Gulf ports to ports in India. On Jan. 31 the United States Shipping Board ordered reductions amounting to about 50 per cent. in the cargo rates from North Atlantic ports to Australia, South Africa, and the Far Eastern ports.

Shipping men expressed the belief that the change would cause a development in the commerce from American ports and tend to hasten the return of the business to normal conditions.

## America's Financial Aid to the Allies

By THOMAS W. LAMONT

of J. P. Morgan & Co., New York

[ANNUAL FINANCIAL SUPPLEMENT OF THE LONDON TIMES]

THE financial problems of the different nations of the world have, through the rude workings of the war, become almost inextricably interwoven. The financial situation of no one country can be studied without serious reference to the world credit situation. This statement applies emphatically to the United States, as it never did before the war. Thus it becomes of interest to

review briefly America's position in its relation to the rest of the world.

At the close of 1918 there were held by American investors and bankers foreign Government obligations, issued since the war began and as yet unpaid, of approximately \$2,100,000,000. The total of such war issues here was, according to our records, made up as follows:

Great Britain .....\$1,308,400,000



France .....	845,000,000
Russia .....	160,000,000
Italy .....	29,000,000
Germany .....	45,000,000
Switzerland .....	15,000,000
Greece .....	7,000,000
Sweden .....	5,000,000
Norway .....	8,000,000
China .....	5,000,000
Canada .....	370,500,000
Argentina .....	146,500,000
Chile .....	6,000,000
Bolivia .....	3,000,000
Panama .....	3,000,000
Uruguay .....	3,000,000
Yucatan .....	10,000,000
Brazil .....	5,500,000
Miscellaneous estimates.....	130,000,000
Total .....	\$3,104,900,000

Of the foregoing issues there have matured and been paid the following:

Great Britain .....	\$456,400,000
France .....	235,000,000
Russia .....	35,000,000
Italy .....	25,000,000
Germany .....	20,000,000
Switzerland .....	10,000,000
Norway .....	3,000,000
Canada .....	59,400,000
Argentina .....	73,000,000
Total .....	\$916,800,000

It is probable that in addition to the foregoing Government issues there are in the hands of our bankers and investors, foreign private obligations to the extent of \$500,000,000.

Before the war America's investments in foreign Government issues were almost negligible. Her total purchases of Russian and Japanese issues in the Russo-Japanese War were only about \$125,000,000, and these issues were almost all resold to England or France. The total American holdings of these issues just mentioned and of Argentines, Mexicans, and Canadians (I am still speaking only of Government, provincial or municipal issues) probably did not exceed, at the beginning of the war, \$500,000,000. Hence the purchase of various allied and neutral foreign Government obligations to the extent that I have mentioned—namely, \$3,100,000,000—constituted for Americans a radical and profound departure from their previous ways. I do not have to detail the ways in which this change was brought about. America had been a borrowing, not a

lending, nation. It was not an easy task to bring about the change and to effect it as speedily as the pressing financial requirements of the Allies in America made necessary. Every sort of obstacle was placed in the path of those who made themselves responsible in the United States for raising the heavy loans which were necessary to the successful prosecution of the war by Great Britain, France, and their allies. The German propagandist, clever, resourceful, unscrupulous, neither slumbered nor slept. No part of the country was too insignificant for his efforts, no method too unimportant for his hands. But the greatest obstacle of all lay, of course, in the fact that America as a whole, during the early years of the war, did not realize that the fight was one in which America was as vitally interested as any other country and that sooner or later we were bound to get into the fight.

When once America understood the situation and had taken up arms against the Central Powers she left nothing undone in the way of economic and material achievement or of military aid in her anxiety to play her full part in the winning of the war. It may, therefore, be not inappropriate to point out that (up to Dec. 7) in eighteen months, during which there was active American participation in the war, the United States Government had loaned to the Allies a total of \$8,220,340,702, made up as follows:

Great Britain.....	\$3,945,000,000
France .....	2,445,000,000
Italy .....	1,210,000,000
Russia .....	325,000,000
Belgium .....	210,120,000
Greece .....	39,554,036
Cuba .....	15,000,000
Serbia .....	12,000,000
Rumania .....	6,666,666
Liberia .....	5,000,000
Czechoslovaks .....	7,000,000
Total.....	\$8,220,340,702

Secretary McAdoo of the Federal Treasury pointed out toward the end of 1918 that the total of these loans would soon reach \$8,500,000,000; and he asked Congress for authority to extend these loans up to a grand total of \$10,000,000,000. This figure will give some idea of the prompt and adequate financial aid which America rendered within a year and a half.



# Emerging From War Conditions

## Progress of the United States Toward the Resumption of Normal Peace Activities

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1919]

**P**ROBLEMS that sprang out of the sudden cessation of hostilities continued to press for solution in the United States during the first month of 1919. Most of these were concerned with finance and commerce and the demobilization of American forces at home and abroad.

Figures made public by Secretary of War Baker on Feb. 12 revealed that from the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11, 1918, to Feb. 8, 1919, 287,332 American troops in France and Great Britain had embarked for the United States, while up to Feb. 10, 67,454 officers and 1,069,116 men had been demobilized in this country. Total arrivals of overseas troops up to Feb. 7 were 215,749.

Men in France being treated for disease on Feb. 1 totaled 62,561 and those suffering from wounds were 24,484. The aggregate of 87,045 was 4,688 less than in the preceding week and 106,403 less than the number in hospitals overseas on Nov. 14.

Since the ending of hostilities 53,042 sick and wounded had arrived in this country, bringing the total since the beginning of the war to 63,160. On Feb. 1 the occupied beds in hospitals in the United States numbered 60,777, while there were 47,048 beds available for returning cases.

### SUMMARY OF FIGHTING FORCES

The Statistics Branch of the General Staff presented on Feb. 5 the following summary of all forces in the United States Army at the time of its greatest strength, Nov. 11, 1918, the figures being corrected up to Jan. 22, 1919.

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Army personnel in			
Europe .....	80,842	1,868,474	1,949,316
At sea, en route to			
Europe .....	1,162	21,072	22,234
Total .....	82,004	1,889,546	1,971,550

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Marines (on duty with Army in Europe) .....	1,002	31,383	32,385
Total, including			
Marines .....	83,006	1,920,929	2,003,935
Siberian expedition.	298	8,806	9,104
Total A. E. F. in Europe and Siberia .....	83,304	1,929,735	2,013,039
In United States...	104,155	1,530,344	1,634,499
In insular possessions, Alaska, &c.	1,977	53,758	55,735
Grand total in army, excluding Marines...	188,434	3,482,454	3,670,888
Grand total in army, including Marines...	189,436	3,513,837	3,703,273

### BATTLE DEATH RATE

Statistics prepared by the General Staff and made public by General March on Feb. 15 showed that the battle death rate in the United States Army in France exceeded the disease death rate, something that had never happened in previous wars. The battle death rate for the entire American Army in this war was 20 per thousand per year. In the expeditionary forces it was 57 per thousand per year. The disease death rate was 17 per thousand per year in the expeditionary forces and 16 in the army at home.

Among the American forces, the table showed, the battle death rate was only half that of the British expeditionary forces, which was given as 110 per thousand per year.

General March said that the lower death rate from disease undoubtedly was due largely to the inoculation requirement of the army, and, secondly, to the efficient work of the Medical Corps. But for the influenza epidemic, he said, the disease rate would have been cut in half.

The table of comparative battle and



disease death rates per thousand per year for wars in which the United States has engaged since the war of 1812 follows:

	Battle Death Rate.	Disease Death Rate.
Mexican War.....	15	110
Civil War (North).....	33	65
Spanish War.....	5	26
Present war (A. E. F.).....	57	17

#### SOLDIERS FROM EACH STATE

A table showing the number of men furnished to the army by each State during the war was also made public at the War Department on Feb. 15. The figures were compiled up to Nov. 11, and the grand total includes the overseas garrisons in Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines and in Alaska, as well as the American Expeditionary Forces and the army at home.

The States furnished the following numbers of soldiers:

New York.....	367,864	Mississippi ....	54,295
Pennsylvania...	297,891	S. Carolina....	53,482
Illinois .....	251,074	Connecticut ...	50,069
Ohio .....	200,293	Nebraska .....	47,805
Texas .....	161,065	Maryland .....	47,054
Michigan .....	135,485	Washington ...	45,154
Massachusetts...	132,610	Montana .....	36,293
Missouri .....	128,544	Colorado .....	34,393
California .....	112,514	Florida .....	33,331
Indiana .....	106,581	Oregon .....	30,110
New Jersey....	105,207	South Dakota..	29,680
Minnesota .....	99,116	North Dakota..	25,803
Iowa .....	98,781	Maine .....	24,252
Wisconsin .....	98,211	Idaho .....	19,010
Georgia .....	85,506	Utah .....	17,361
Oklahoma .....	80,169	Rhode Island..	16,861
Tennessee .....	75,825	Dist. of Colum.	15,930
Kentucky .....	75,043	N. Hampshire.	14,374
Alabama .....	74,678	New Mexico....	12,439
Virginia .....	73,062	Wyoming .....	11,393
N. Carolina....	73,003	Arizona .....	10,492
Louisiana .....	65,988	Vermont .....	9,338
Kansas .....	63,428	Delaware .....	7,484
Arkansas .....	61,027	Nevada .....	5,105
W. Virginia....	55,777		

The total of 3,575,624 included also 16,538 from Porto Rico, 5,644 from Hawaii, 2,102 from Alaska, 255 from the Philippines, 1,318 not allocated, and 1,499 accredited to the American Expeditionary Forces, comprising men who joined the army in Europe.

#### HEALTH OF THE ARMY

The effect of the influenza epidemic on the health of troops in the United States was shown in the report of the Division

of Sanitation of the Surgeon General's Office for the six-month period ending Dec. 27, 1918.

From disease only 32.15 men out of each 1,000 in the service in the United States would have died during 1918 had the death rate of the last six months extended over the entire year. Actually the death rate for the calendar year was 20.09 per 1,000.

Of the 32.15 per 1,000 annual death rate from disease for the six months 30.071 were due to influenza and pneumonia, leaving 2.081 per 1,000 as the rate for all other diseases. Death due to other diseases than pneumonia during the year ending Aug. 30, 1918, when the total rate was but 6.37 per 1,000, was 2.35 per 1,000. No deaths were reported from influenza in that period. This shows that except for the epidemic influenza-pneumonia, sick and death rates would have remained low.

The United States Department of Labor authorized a statement showing that the intensive campaign of the Naturalization Bureau of the Department of Labor in the army during the war had resulted in making 162,864 new American citizens. This figure covered naturalizations to Jan. 11. This record had been made possible by the relaxation of the rules governing naturalization in the case of men in uniform. It was felt that when a man joined the American forces he thereby had taken out his first papers, so to speak, and all that remained was to complete the formality of inducting him into American citizenship. Examiners and judges had been assigned to the several camps periodically, and the alien soldiers had been naturalized in batches.

#### FOR A LARGER NAVY

The House of Representatives on Feb. 11 passed the Naval Appropriation bill, which contained the three-year navy construction program proposed by Secretary Daniels and warmly urged by the President in a cable message from France. The program was adopted by a vote of 194 to 142. The bill calls for an appropriation of \$600,000,000. A proviso was added deferring the actual construction of the ships until June, 1920.

The United States Shipping Board an-



nounced on Dec. 18, 1918, that henceforth all outgoing vessels, except troop transports, would be manned with merchant sailors. The statement added:

During the war it was, for military reasons, considered proper that many of the vessels should be under naval regulations, as they were so peculiarly but instruments of our military operations in Europe, and the splendid service rendered by the officers and men of the Naval Reserve Force in this service is fully recognized. There have also been operated through the submarine and mine-infested waters many merchant vessels manned by the usual merchant crews. The board is fully conscious of the great service rendered by these men in a most difficult and dangerous trade, and desires to publicly express its appreciation of the part played by the merchant sailor in winning the war.

The cessation of hostilities saved the nation billions of dollars through the cancellation of contracts and authorizations. In the Deficiency bill reported by the House Committee on Appropriations Jan. 5, contracts for \$7,179,156,944 were ordered canceled and authorizations amounting to \$8,221,029,294 were withdrawn.

#### RAILROADS UNDER GOVERNMENT CONTROL

Railroads in 1918 under Government control and unusual war conditions earned about \$713,000,000, or \$250,000,000 less than in 1917, \$370,000,000 less than in the record year of 1916, and about the same as in 1915.

This became apparent Jan. 29 on the basis of definite reports to the Interstate Commerce Commission of earnings of 195 principal railroads—those having annual operating revenues of more than \$1,000,000—for eleven months and unofficial calculation of December earnings, which Railroad Administration reports indicated would be considerably smaller though subject to slight revision, the figures afforded the first public view of the results of railway operations last year, so far as earnings are concerned.

Receipts from freight, passenger, express, and other transportation during the year amounted to approximately \$4,873,000,000, or \$832,000,000 more than in the previous year. Operating expenses

jumped to about \$3,971,000,000, or about \$1,119,000,000 more than in the preceding year.

#### EMPLOYMENT OF SOLDIERS

Too sudden a glut in the labor market owing to demobilization of soldiers who had no employment in sight was provided against by an order issued by Secretary Baker on Jan. 24. The order follows:

All commanding officers will take steps to insure that every enlisted man in their command understands thoroughly that the War Department does not desire to discharge any soldier who cannot secure civil employment. It will be made clear to every soldier that where he would normally be discharged under orders for demobilization, he may remain temporarily in the military service at his own written request until such time as he can secure employment. The fact that he requests to remain in the army temporarily does not in any way operate to compel him to remain in the army for a long period of time against his will. Any man who would normally have been discharged if he had not expressed his desire in writing to remain in the service, may thereafter be discharged from the service at his own request whenever he thinks he may secure employment. All such men as are retained temporarily under the above authority will be attached to the most convenient unit and where their services will be most useful.

#### THE PROHIBITION AMENDMENT

The ratification by three-fourths of the States of the "Bone-Dry" amendment to the Constitution was followed by the formal proclamation by Acting Secretary of State Polk that the amendment had become part of the Constitution. The text of the proclamation is herewith given:

To All to Whom These Presents Shall Come, Greeting:

Know ye that the Congress of the United States, at the second session, Sixty-fifth Congress, begun at Washington on the third day of December, in the year one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, passed a resolution in the words and figures following, to wit:

#### JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two-thirds of each house concurring therein,



That the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of the several States as provided by the Constitution;

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

And, further, that it appears from official documents on file in this department that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed as aforesaid has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States of Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

And, further, that the States whose Legislatures have so ratified the said proposed amendment constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States.

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of Section 205 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, do hereby certify that the amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this 29th day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

(Signed) FRANK L. POLK,  
Acting Secretary of State.

The Food Administration announced Jan. 28 that President Wilson signed a proclamation in Paris on Jan. 23 remov-

ing restrictions on the manufacture of so-called near beers. No reference was made to the restrictions on the manufacture of beer or other intoxicating brewed beverages. Under Presidential proclamation the brewing of beer, near beer, and other malt beverages had been stopped on Dec. 1, as a wartime conservation measure.

### THE FOOD SITUATION

Congress appropriated \$100,000,000 for the relief of food suffering in Europe in the latter part of January. On Feb. 2 Herbert Hoover, Director General of Food Relief, issued a statement regarding the foreign food situation which derived importance from his profound study of the subject:

It is little realized in the United States how fully and completely the daily wireless carried the progress of this measure to those peoples now liberated from the German yoke. Immediately after the bill was passed the news appeared in the headlines of newspapers in Bucharest, Sofia, and Helsingfors, and it was known in Warsaw, Lodz, Prague, and Fiume, where thousands of persons have been looking anxiously toward the United States for leadership in the solution of their most imminent danger. \* \* \*

The usual tangible relief to the newly liberated peoples will not be delayed even by the period required to ship foodstuffs from the United States under this appropriation because the War, Navy, and Treasury Department and the United States Food Administration already have 100 ships in European ports or headed toward Europe in addition to our re-established relief in Belgium and Northern France, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia under the old war legislation. The new appropriation by Congress enables us to extend this work by giving credits to those countries for which there was no such legislation.

We have at sea or discharging in the port of Trieste 70,000 tons of food for the Yugoslavs, Serbians, and Czechoslovaks. We have 30,000 tons of food either arrived at or in progress to the Black Sea for Rumania. The Armenian Relief Committee has 7,000 tons on the way to Armenia and Syria as a gift, and we are placing 10,000 tons in Constantinople as a reserve for them. We have 40,000 tons in Poland, on the way or being transhipped from Rotterdam for the Poles, and 20,000 tons in Rotterdam awaiting reshipment to the Finns and other liberated populations in Russia. The Polish Relief Committee is sending a gift of 7,000 tons to the Poles.



Since the armistice the British authorities have distributed about 10,000 tons of food to the Serbians, the Italian authorities some 10,000 tons to the Austrians, and the British authorities have in progress some 12,000 or 15,000 tons of food to the Rumanians. We have since the armistice delivered into Rotterdam 300,000 tons of food for the Belgians and the liberated French, with the support of our Treasury and Belgium and France.

Had this new appropriation been refused we should have sold out these parcels of food to those who could pay real money and would have been compelled to allow the others to starve. In this same confidence that we would be supported by Congress, we have secured a detail of more than 250 men from the American Army and the American Navy for the work of the Food Administration. These men are now actively establishing the administration necessary to secure proper distribution in all of these territories. Our offices have been opened in virtually every capital among the distressed peoples, and with the passage of this act of Congress we are able to do business.

The Allied Supreme Council of Supply and Relief has been organized and equipped with a staff of officials representing the allied and associated Powers in order that we may secure co-ordination and unity of effort from all the Governments who have stood together to secure the freedom of these peoples and who now stand together to see that their distress is ameliorated.

#### THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION

The task of supplying the eight divisions of the Third American Army at Coblenz with Browning machine guns and automatic rifles was begun in January. The Brownings are to replace the machine guns and automatic rifles with which all the members of the American Expeditionary Forces have been armed. For the army of occupation, approximately 158 cars will be required to transport the weapons from France to the occupied territory. Each division is to have 768 automatic rifles and 224 machine guns.

It was announced that Rotterdam and Antwerp would be used as base ports for the American Army of Occupation. Deep-draft barges seized by the French and Belgians in the German retreats would plow the Rhine, superseding the Bordeaux route to the front by rail. Warehouses were to be erected at Rotterdam and Antwerp, and the ships would be un-

loaded and reloaded upon barges by Dutch and Belgian civilians. The establishment of the new route released between 1,500 and 2,000 freight cars for the French railroads. It made New York the railhead for the American Army of Occupation. Rations and supplies for the troops leave New York direct for Coblenz. Colonel John S. Sewell was placed in command of the new bases. He is assisted by Colonels Charles C. Zolters, Paul J. Ramsey, and Edward B. Cushing.

#### TIGHTENING THE REGULATIONS

While no serious disturbances were reported from the Coblenz district, an increase in minor infractions of rules laid down for the civil population made it necessary for the military authorities to adopt stricter methods than they had previously found necessary. Violation of the regulations against fraternizing was visited with prompt punishment, and the number of the sentences against other offenders showed a marked increase.

The Coblenz Gazette featured a compulsory advertisement, by order of the Burgomaster, citing sixty-six Teuton offenders in Coblenz and its suburbs against American military law. These cases were brought in January before an inferior Provost Court. Details of the nature of the offenses and of the penalties inflicted furnished interesting statistics of criminology under American occupation.

The most common offense involved buying, receiving, trafficking in or stealing food or other property of the American Army. There were thirty-two convictions under these charges. Numerically second were charges of selling hard liquor to American soldiers. Thirteen Germans got fines or jail sentences for this conduct. Seven were convicted of selling alcoholic drinks, other than light wines or beer, to German civilians, and five for selling wines or beer out of legal hours.

Penalties for the sixty-six cases amounted in fines to \$2,300 and in imprisonment to seven years and five months. Fines ranged from \$25 to \$250, and jail sentences from 15 days to 190.



# Heroism on Torpedoed Transports

## Official Stories of the Sinking of the Antilles, President Lincoln, and Covington by Submarines

**T**HE German determination to hinder the successful transportation of American troops to the European battlefields took concrete form in submarine attacks on the first convoy, sailing under the escort commanded by Vice Admiral Gleaves in June, 1917. In his report on the work of the force under Vice Admiral Gleaves, Secretary of the Navy Daniels said, "Convoy duty has not been spectacular, but it has demanded endurance, constant vigilance, and devotion to duty of the highest order under circumstances of the most trying and arduous nature."

The American Navy, realizing all potential dangers, took every imaginable precaution. It was due in a considerable measure to the constant vigil of Britain's Navy in the North Sea that America was able to maintain always a high record of achievement in ferrying troops to France. But Germany's underwater navy was not blockaded, and it is a noteworthy fact that in no Europe-bound American naval troop convoy did a German torpedo ever find its target. Only on homeward trips, when our transports carried comparatively few men, and when escort protection was sometimes not as complete as on the more vital voyage to Europe, were the Germans successful in sinking any of our vessels.

### SINKING OF THE ANTILLES

On Oct. 17, 1917, the Antilles was torpedoed and sunk on her homeward journey. This was the first American transport to fall a victim to a German submarine. The report of Commander Daniel T. Ghent on the event is given in part:

"We lost the Antilles two days out from Quiberon Bay, France. She sank in four and one-half minutes. Four of the guns' crew went down with her; sixteen soldiers; forty-five of the merchant crew; a civilian ambulance driver,

and a colored stevedore—sixty-seven in all.

"We left Oct. 15 for America with the transports Henderson and Willehad in the convoy, and the Corsair, Kana-wha, and Alcedo as escort. All zigzagged, as we knew the waters to be infested with submarines. The second day we were forced to reduce our speed to permit the Willehad, which had been feeling the heavy seas, to regain formation.

"Passing through submarine zones every one is on edge, and when fire was discovered early the following morning on the promenade deck, every one was stimulated to swift action. The fire was soon under control.

"A half hour later, just before daylight, a torpedo was sighted heading for us two points abaft the port beam. It was at least 400 feet distant when sighted. The helm was put hard over to dodge, but the torpedo hit near the after engine room bulkhead on the port side. The explosion was terrific; the ship shivered from stem to stern, listing immediately to port. A lookout on the main top was thrown clear of his five-foot canvas screen and killed. Guns were manned instantly, but no submarine was seen.

"The engine room filled with ammonia fumes from the ice machine and dynamo and it was believed every one on duty in the engine room was instantly killed or disabled except one oiler. Within a few seconds after the explosion the water was over the crossheads of the main engines, which were still turning over slowly. Of the twenty-one on duty in the engine and fire rooms only three escaped. Two firemen got through a ventilator safely.

"That only four boats out of ten succeeded in getting clear was due to several causes—the short time the ship remained afloat, the headway left on the ship due to the fact the engine room per-



sonnel was put out of action, rough seas, listing of the ship, and destruction of one boat by the explosion.

"Behavior of the men was equal to

### AMERICAN NAVAL VESSELS SUNK BY THE ENEMY

These tables, from the report of Secretary Daniels to President Wilson, show the number of American vessels sunk by the enemy, their tonnage and the number of lives lost:

#### NAVAL VESSELS.

From April 6, 1917, to Nov. 11, 1918:

	No. of	Ves-	Ton-	Lives
		sels.	nage.	Lost.
By submarines.....	14	103,583	677	
By mines.....	5	45,356	54	
By collision.....	15	30,794	65	
Miscellaneous.....	14	31,128	346	
Total.....	48	210,861	1,142	

#### MERCHANT VESSELS.

From August, 1914, to April 6, 1917:

By submarines.....	15	53,671	63
By mines.....	5	10,770	4
By German cruiser Eitel Friedrich.....	1	3,374	0
Total.....	21	67,815	67

From April 6, 1917, to Nov. 11, 1918:

By submarines.....	124	244,385	342
By raiders.....	6	4,388	0

Total.....	130	248,773	342
Total number of mer- chant vessels.....	151	315,588	409
Total number naval vessels.....	48	210,861	1,144
Grand total.....	199	526,449	1,553

#### TROOPSHIPS.

The Antilles, President Lincoln and Covington were the only actual troopships lost in the war by the cruiser and transport force. The Westbridge, a cargo carrier, reached a French port. The Mount Vernon also got to port. The armored cruiser San Diego was destroyed by a mine laid by a submarine off the American coast.

Ships.	Date.	Gross Tons.	Lives Lost.
*Antilles, Oct. 17, 1917.....		6,878	67
*Pres. Lincoln, May 31, 1918....		18,167	26
*Covington, July 1, 1918.....		16,339	6
*Westbridge, Aug. 15, 1918....		5,660	4
*Mount Vernon, Sept. 5, 1918....		18,372	36
†Saetia, Nov. 9, 1918.....		2,873	0
‡Herman Frasch, Oct. 4, 1918..		3,803	16
§Ophir, Nov. 11, 1918.....		7,089	0
*Torpedoed. †Mined. ‡Army trans- port; collision. §Internal explosion.			

the best traditions of the service. The two forward gun crews remained at their stations while the ship went down and made no move to save themselves until ordered to leave their stations. Radio Electrician Ausburne went down with the ship while at his station in the radio room.

"Ausburne and McMahon were asleep in adjacent bunks opposite the radio room. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, Ausburne told McMahon to get his life-preserver on, saying, as he left to take his station at the radio key, 'Good-bye, Mac.' McMahon, later, finding the radio room locked and seeing the ship was sinking, tried to get Ausburne out, but failed.

"The Henderson made a thick screen of smoke which completely hid her from view as soon as she saw what had happened. The Willehad made off at her best speed. The Corsair and Alcedo circled for two hours, when the Alcedo began the rescue of survivors and the Corsair continued to look for the submarine. The Antilles had 234 on board. Too much credit cannot be given to the officers and men of the Corsair and Alcedo for their work, whole-heartedness and generosity. The work of their medical officer was of the highest.

"An instance comes back to me of the coolness of the guns' crews. One member was rescued from the top of an ammunition box which by some means had floated clear and in an upright position. He semaphored the Corsair not to come too close, when he saw her approaching to pick him up, as the box contained live ammunition."

### THE PRESIDENT LINCOLN

For several months the Germans found themselves balked by the successful manoeuvring of the American naval ship commanders. The next ship that fell a prey to their underseas campaign was the President Lincoln. The story was told in the following words by Commander P. W. Foote, U. S. N.:

"On May 31, 1918, the President Lincoln was returning to America from a voyage to France and was in line formation with the U. S. S. Susquehanna, the



U. S. S. Antigone, and the U. S. S. Ryn-dam. The weather was pleasant, the sun shining brightly, the sea choppy.

"The ships were about 500 miles from the coast of France and had passed through what was considered to be the most dangerous part of the war zone. At about 9 A. M. a terrific explosion occurred on the port side, 120 feet from the bow, and immediately afterward an explosion occurred on the port side, 120 feet from the stern, these explosions coming from torpedoes fired from a German submarine.

"It was found that the ship was struck by three torpedoes, which had been fired as one salvo from the submarine, two striking practically together near the bow of the ship and the third near the stern.

#### COURAGE OF GUNNERS

"There were 715 persons on board, including about thirty officers and men of the army. Some of these were sick and two soldiers were totally paralyzed. The alarm was immediately sounded and every one went to his proper station, which had been designated at previous drills; there was not the slightest confusion, and the crew and passengers waited for and acted on orders from the commanding officer with a coolness which was truly inspiring.

"The ship was rapidly filling with water. There was little likelihood that she would remain afloat. Boats were lowered and the liferafts were placed in the water, and about fifteen minutes after the ship was struck all hands except the guns' crews were ordered to abandon ship.

"The guns' crews were held at their stations for an opportunity to fire on the submarine should it appear before the ship sank. Orders were given to the guns' crews to begin firing, hoping that this might prevent further attack. When the guns' crews began firing, the people in the boats set up a cheer to show they were not downhearted. The guns' crews left their guns when ordered by the commanding officer just before the ship sank. The guns in the bow kept up firing until after the water was entirely

over the main deck of the after-half of the ship.

"The state of discipline and the coolness of the men is well illustrated by what occurred when the boats were being lowered and were about half way from their davits to the water. At this time there appeared some possibility of the ship not sinking immediately, and the commanding officer gave the order to stop lowering boats. The crews held them in midair for a few minutes until, at a further order, the boats were dropped into the water.

"Immediately after the ship sank the boats pulled among the rafts and were loaded with men to their full capacity and the work of collecting the rafts and tying them together to prevent drifting apart and being lost was begun.

"While the work was under way and about half an hour after the ship sank a large German submarine emerged and came among the boats and rafts, searching for the commanding officer and some of the senior officers whom they desired to take prisoners. The submarine commander was able to identify only one officer, Lieutenant E. V. M. Isaacs, whom he took on board.

"By dark the boats and rafts had been collected, there being about 500 men in the boats and about 200 on the rafts. Lighted lanterns were hoisted in the boats and flare-up lights and Coston signal lights were burned every few minutes during the night.

"At 11 P. M. a white light was sighted, and very shortly it was found that the destroyer Warrington had arrived, and about an hour afterward the destroyer Smith also arrived. The transfer of the men to the destroyers was effected and the destroyers remained in the vicinity until after daylight the following morning, when a further search was made for survivors, but none was found. At 6 A. M. the return trip to France had begun.

#### TWENTY-SIX LOST

"Of the 715 men on board it was found after the muster that three officers and twenty-three men were lost with the ship, and that one officer,



Lieutenant Isaacs, had been taken prisoner. The loss of the officers was peculiarly regrettable, as they could have escaped. Both Dr. Whiteside and Paymaster Mowat had seen the men under their charge leave the ship, the doctor having attended to placing the sick in the boat provided for the purpose, and they then remained in the ship for some unexplainable reason, as testified by witnesses who last saw them, and apparently these two excellent officers were taken down with the ship. Paymaster Johnston got on a raft alongside the ship, but in some way was caught by the ship as she went under.

"Although the German submarine commander made no offers of assistance, otherwise his conduct was all that could be expected. We naturally had some apprehension as to whether or not he would open fire on the boats and rafts in an attempt to make me and other officers disclose our identity. I noticed some one on the submarine walk to the muzzle of a gun, apparently with the intention of preparing it for action. One of the men in my boat remarked, 'Good night, here come the fireworks.' The spirit which actuated this remark could be none other than that of cool courage and bravery.

"The conduct of the men was inspiring in this period of grave personal peril. Many had been in the navy only a brief period. They displayed the innate courage of the traditional American seaman."

#### THE COVINGTON SUNK

The Covington, formerly the Hamburg-American liner Cincinnati, was commissioned as a naval transport in July, 1917, and began her first trip with troops in the middle of October. When torpedoed, on July 1, 1918, she was making her sixth trip to France, after having carried 27,000 men across. In reporting the sinking of the Covington, Captain R. D. Hasbrouck said:

"At night on July 1 the lookout on the Covington, which had sailed from Brest with several other transports escorted by destroyers, saw a streak of white 300 yards from the port quarter. The torpedo struck with a terrific de-

tonation, throwing a column of water above the stacks. In an incredibly short time the crew were at their stations awaiting orders from the bridge.

"Engine and fire rooms filled quickly. In fifteen minutes the ship lay dead in the water and listed to port. 'Abandon ship' was bugled. The behavior of officers and men was wonderful.

"Twenty-one of the twenty-seven lifeboats were lowered without lights to guide, with the ship listing badly and without the aid of a single winch, for steam had failed. It was a stirring sight to see the men go down the ladders as though in drill. The destroyer Smith took the men aboard.

"A working party of thirty officers and men remained on the Covington, collecting records, charts, sextants, &c. At 4 A. M. a salvage party from the Smith boarded the Covington. The Smith headed for Brest full speed at 5:20 A. M. Two British tugs and an American tug came up. By 6 o'clock the tugs had the Covington in tow, making five knots. Two more destroyers, in addition to the Reade, which had been standing by, joined shortly after. At 2:10 the salvage party was taken off; at 2:30 the Covington began to sink rapidly by the stern."

Our final transport calamity occurred Sept. 5, 1918, when the Mount Vernon was torpedoed 250 miles off the French coast while returning to America. Thirty-six lives were lost. The vessel, however, was not lost, for through the ingenuity of her officers and men it was enabled to return to a French port despite a big gap in the hull. In the following extract from the letter sent to the commander, Captain D. E. Dismukes, when the Mount Vernon reached Brest in safety, Brig. Gen. George H. Harries expressed his recognition of the achievement:

"Sorrow, mingled with pride, for those who died so nobly. Congratulations on the seamanship, discipline, and courage. It was a great feat you accomplished. The best traditions of the navy have been lifted to a higher plane. What a fine thing it is to be an American these days! The olive drab salutes the blue."



# Story of the First American Regulars

## Typical Deeds of the Division That Landed First in France and Lost 23,974 Men in Battle

By MAJOR GEN. A. W. GREELY

[UNITED STATES ARMY, RETIRED]

THERE is no division of the American Expeditionary Forces that failed to display in the face of the enemy the qualities of courage, discipline, and efficiency which are acknowledged attributes of the American Army. It is natural and commendable that war correspondents and local newspapers should proudly acclaim the achievements of the military organizations identified with their own communities. It should be borne in mind, however, that certain organizations are entitled to general recognition for their soldierly merits, as they present to the world by the men of their ranks a thoroughly homogeneous army, gathered from all sections and all races of our composite nation. These troops are of the so-called Regular Army, whose ranks are now filled almost to a man by volunteers for service only in the great war. It is not generally known that the war casualties of these organizations—battle and disease—have depleted their ranks from 25 to 100 per cent. of their original personnel. These vast gaps have been filled by drafts from the replacement divisions of selected men, thus making the regulars truly national organizations.

That the public may appreciate the fibre and mettle of these representative troops, formed by such a national consolidation, it appears desirable that the achievements of a typical regular division should be briefly if somewhat inadequately described.

For this purpose the 1st Division is selected, not that its bravery is superior, its discipline better, or its morale higher than mark the others, but because it was the first division to reach France, first to serve in trench warfare, first to fire a hostile shell, first to lose a man, first to capture a prisoner, first to repel a German raid, first to man an

independent sector, and first to recapture a town (Cantigny) and hold it against all counterattacks.

### THE OFFICERS IN COMMAND

Sailing from Hoboken on June 14, 1917, the 1st Division reached St. Nazaire, at the mouth of the Loire, on the 24th of that month. The division, 27,000 strong, was trained by General W. L. Sibert of Alabama, but went into actual war service under General Robert Lee Bullard, also of Alabama, with Colonel Campbell King of Georgia as Chief of Staff. The 1st Brigade, 16th and 18th Regular Infantry, was commanded by General John L. Hines of West Virginia, and the 2d Brigade by General Beaumont B. Buck of Texas. The artillery brigade, the 5th, 6th, and 7th Regiments of Field Artillery, was finally put under Colonel W. A. Holbrook of Wisconsin. In addition there were the 1st Regiment of Engineers, the 1st, 2d, and 3d Machine Gun Battalions, a headquarters troop of cavalry, Signal Corps, field battalions, and medical units.

Unskilled in methods of modern war and unprovided with field artillery, the division was scattered to suitable camps where they were intensively instructed by experienced officers from the French Army. That such training involved physical hardships, uncomplainingly endured, is evident from Major Palmer's statement that some of the men, in want of new shoes, drilled with their feet wrapped in sacking. The field artillery had to unlearn their own drill and acquire expert skill with the remarkable but novel French gun, the famous *soixante quinze*, 75mm. A French officer commented on the high intelligence and extraordinary aptitude of his artillery pupils.

Three months later, with coming Win-



ter and almost continuous rains, the division was inducted into trench warfare, serving under French command, a short distance southeast of Nancy. The usual horrors of trench life were experienced, though their vitality and methods prevented any material increase in the sick. Here the first hostile shell was fired by Battery C, 6th Field Artillery, on Oct. 23, 1917. The Germans on Nov. 3 by a barrage cut off the advanced outpost and captured eleven prisoners. The command, rallying, repelled the enemy. Trench service, rendered by battalion detail for ten days each, was marked by 56 casualties—3 killed, \*43 wounded, and 11 captured. One German prisoner was taken. The casualties herein given include killed, wounded, gassed, missing, and prisoners, but not by disease, accidents, &c.

The trench apprenticeship was followed by independent service Jan. 15-April 3, 1918, about twelve miles northwest of Toul, in a sector near St. Mihiel. Here the 1st Division relieved the famous Moroccan Division, co-operating with the 69th French. The Toul service entailed constant losses with small chance of reprisal. The front was dominated by the St. Mihiel hills, of which Mont Sec was the key, strongly held by German batteries within easy range. Major Palmer tersely describes the situation: "It was like sitting at the foot of the stairs and having the fellow at the top throw rocks at you from behind a curtain." Occasional incursions into No Man's Land were made, whereby eleven prisoners were captured with machine guns and flame throwers. In this quiet sector the 1st Division had 352 casualties—56 killed, 150 wounded, 127 gassed, and 19 missing.

#### HASTILY SHIFTED TO PICARDY

The vast and dangerous offensive launched by the German command on March 21, 1918, called the division into extremely active service. On March 28 General Pershing offered the American force in its entirety to General Foch, and a week later the 1st made its great journey half across France to Picardy. It was a test of administrative

ability, met successfully by Pershing's quartermasters, to move with the essential accompanying paraphernalia 27,000 men, 1,700 animals, and 1,000 wagons. Turning over its sector to the 26th New England Division, the 1st made this transfer of more than 300 miles, and was in Picardy, near Beauvais, on April 18.

How it was done no one knows, for the railroads were swamped with ammunition, reinforcements, supplies, &c., for 3,000,000 men, while the roads—in awful condition—were jammed with ambulances, motors, fugitives, and troops. It was nearly confusion confounded between withdrawals before the enemy, the evacuation of the occupied provinces, and transfers of troops to meet exigencies. But the 1st got there, both fit and equipped to fight.

Kept for a time in reserve, the 1st occupied the Cantigny front—April 25-July 7—three miles west of Montdidier, then strongly held by the enemy. The operations of the division in this sector are popularly supposed to have been confined, as far as fighting went, to the capture of Cantigny, which was a mere episode involving only one-fifth of the casualties here suffered. The 1st was put in line opposite the very apex of the most advanced German salient, with orders to hold it at all costs. If the front gave way Amiens, a few miles to the northwest, would fall and its railway system be destroyed. The fatal effect would be the diversion to Southern France of all the supplies needful for the British Army, which was then receiving from the Channel ports everything needful for all forces north of the Somme.

Constant fighting, though on a small scale, continued almost daily until early June. The front had to be kept against preponderating and victorious enemies, who, holding both banks of the Avre, were within easy cannon shot of Amiens. The 1st not only gave no ground in the repeated attacks of the enemy, but it made them pay toll, capturing from its columns sixty prisoners and three machine guns. It paid dear, however, as its casualties—omitting those in the capture of Cantigny—numbered 140 officers and 4,183 men; killed, 199;

\*For further details about the first three men killed see page 477.



wounded, 1,621; gassed, 1,999; missing, 49. The few missing show that the men fought to the last.

#### HOW CANTIGNY WAS TAKEN

The division commander viewed with dissatisfaction the occupation by the enemy of the village of Cantigny. Admirably organized and strongly fortified by the Germans, its high ground dominated both the American front and also sections in the rear. Whenever another advance was made, and it was daily expected, Cantigny was an excellent jumping-off place for a great assault. If it could be captured and held its value for a counteroffensive was strikingly evident. Preparations for its capture were systematically made.

At daybreak on May 28 the division artillery opened a terrific bombardment which drove the enemy to their shelters. At 6:30 A. M. the troops went over the top as the artillery fire pulled back to an initial barrage a hundred yards in advance of the moving line. Colonel Ely, with the 28th Infantry, and Lieut. Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., with a battalion of the 26th Infantry, moved forward with clockwork regularity, fifty-five yards a minute. Each man had food for two days, ample water, much ammunition, and intrenching tools. The town was taken within an hour, when began immediately the consolidation so essential, as counterattacks were certain. The engineer detachments wired under fierce fire the trenches occupied, while the men of the Signal Corps spread their cobweb lines to insure telephonic communication with the rear.

To take Cantigny was easy compared with holding it. Six counterattacks were made by the exasperated Germans, without success. Fierce artillery fire soon reduced Cantigny to a mass of formless ruins, but the Americans held fast, repelling the enemy, who ceased their efforts after losing over 1,300 men killed and wounded, besides 225 prisoners. The casualties of the 1st numbered 1,067; killed, 199; wounded, 652; gassed, 200; missing, 16. Heroically fighting after being wounded, Lieut. Col. Maxey, Lieutenant Drum, and Corporal Finnegan were killed.

#### IMPORTANCE OF CANTIGNY CAPTURE

A small affair, seemingly, Cantigny's capture was a matter of great and international importance. There could not have been a more timely victory, for on that very morning the last German success was attained. Going over the top of the Chemin des Dames, their shock troops drove the allied forces down the Marne to Château-Thierry, and thus placed Paris in imminent danger of capture. At this critical and disheartening period it fell to the lot of the 1st Division of the American Expeditionary Forces to prove to the anxious allied nations that a counteroffensive was possible, and that victory was yet to be gained for the free men of the world.

For a few days a part of the 1st Division turned from scenes of war to parade in Paris on July 4.

Three days later urgent orders put the 1st Division on the march. For four days and nights it went on without any regular rest, now on trucks, now hiking. Of the men's physical condition near the end one of its officers writes: "The dismounted men would fall asleep in the gutter at every halt. The mounted men dozed in their saddles, and the animals could scarcely drag one foot after another. When a chance for food came most men hit the hay, though too tired to sleep." The afternoon found them ten miles in rear of the battle line, which they were ordered to occupy, so as to go over the top at daybreak.

Foch had perfected his plans for a counteroffensive. The march to their assigned positions had to be secretly made over unknown roads, through fields and forest, without a gleam of light, lest the enemy note the movement. To add to the troubles, a thunderstorm soaked their clothing and made the shell-ruined roads veritable quagmires. In utter darkness thousands of men, hundreds of horses and motor trucks jammed the road in almost inextricable masses. It was feared that some units could not reach the line in time to go over the top, fixed at 4:35 A. M. One unit barely reached the front at 4:30 and went over almost exhausted.



It was known that the fighting would be desperate, as it involved attacks on fortified heights held by an enemy flushed with victory and confident of continued success. Hundreds of camouflaged nests of machine guns, heavy batteries in positions of natural strength, caused the enemy to believe their terrain impregnable. It rested on the courage and persistence of the American soldier to prove this a fallacy.

#### IN FOCH'S GREAT OFFENSIVE

The division entered the counteroffensive under its new commander, General Charles P. Summerall of Florida, distinguished as one of the captors of Peking in 1900. It was sandwiched between the 153d French on the left and the veteran Moroccan division on its right with the Foreign Legion.

At 4:35 A. M. the 1st went over the top in extended order of five paces' interval. The artillery, hitherto silent, started a rolling barrage, which, systematically lifted a hundred yards a minute, drove the enemy to their shelters. Advancing as planned, and leaving small parties from time to time to clean up the snipers and machine guns, the main body attained its first objective and halted twenty minutes as allotted. Night found them at the third objective, about three miles advance, having smashed through the wire barricades and fortifications constructed the previous six weeks. Scarcely a thousand casualties, and more than that number of prisoners, with many guns, were the record of the day. The 6th German, 11th and 42d Bavarian Divisions were that night reinforced by the 34th and 28th Divisions, presaging warm work for the morrow.

On July 20 still another German division, the 46th, confronted the 1st. As it had outrun the 153d French in advance, the 1st Division was asked to take the village of Berzy-le-Sec, which had been assigned as a French objective. This village was a fortified place, which dominated the Soissons-Ouchy-le-Château railway, and its capture meant the loss to the Germans of the entire salient. It involved desperate work, and that day failed. The fighting was intense, often at close quarters, when grenades, bayonets,

knives, and even clubbed rifles were used. To and fro swayed the struggling masses, with slight and dearly gained advances by our men. The American casualties had now run up to 3,000, about the number of prisoners captured by them. With nightfall Berzy was still uncaptured, and the Moroccan division was relieved, which was also the orders of the 1st. Summerall, however, told the corps commander that he had promised his men that they should go on, and was unwilling to leave victory half gained.

#### VICTORY ON SOISSONS HIGHWAY

The losses of the 2d Brigade had been enormous among its officers, as nearly all had been killed or wounded. However, on the morning of the 21st General Buck paraded his exhausted and decimated command, and, walking down its front under heavy fire, led them in assault. They swept into Berzy-le-Sec, capturing its men, batteries, and machine guns, and winning the most important objective. Meantime the 1st Brigade had overrun the Soissons-Château-Thierry highway, leaving no hope to the demoralized enemy. Victory then and for the future was assured.

The perfidy and the contemptible methods of the Germans appear from a report by an officer of the division. The moans of a wounded German attracted the attention of an officer in the advance, and in response to his pitiful appeals first-aid treatment was given. The officer went on to join his command, and a few hundred yards further a companion officer called out that he had been shot from the rear. It developed that the German, refreshed by first-aid treatment, had crawled up to the shell-hole, and, resting his machine gun on the edge, opened fire on our troops. Just punishment of the treacherous soldier was rendered needless. A German shell exploded and killed him.

One prisoner was brought in with his high leather boots full of grenades and his right arm adorned with a Red Cross badge.

The captures included 125 officers, 3,375 men, 75 guns, (77mm. and 150mm.,) 50 mortars, 300 machine guns, 2,500 rifles, with much ammunition and sup-



plies. The price paid was the heaviest to date of any division, 7,840 in all—killed, 1,252; wounded, 4,771; gassed, 274, and missing, 1,543. One officer to every sixteen men was killed—an extraordinary proportion.

Many officers and men were cited by division orders, and to other Distinguished Service Crosses were issued by order of President Wilson.

This victory of the 1st against six German divisions was naturally followed by recognition. Buck and Hines became Major Generals and Holbrook a Brigadier. The Chief of Staff, Campbell King, was made Brigadier and succeeded by Colonel John N. Greely, General Staff, who, cited "for distinguished ability while performing duties of grave responsibility," served in that position until the armistice was signed.

#### ST. MIHEL BATTLE

Quiet service for assimilation of about 8,000 replacements was had in the Sazer sector during August, the casualties numbering only twenty-one. The St. Mihiel operation, Sept. 12-15, was not entirely the picnic that has been sometimes assumed. Familiar with this terrain from their earliest service, the 1st Division had an important share in the capture of the salient. Against resistance they advanced eight miles in nineteen hours, and their reconnoitring party twelve miles. Their casualties were 11 officers and 761 men. They captured 5 officers, 1,190 men, 30 77mm. and 150mm. guns, and much war material.

Moved up by easy stages, the 1st Division took station at Cheppy, awaiting its fiercest fighting between the Argonne Forest and the Meuse River. A serious

emergency arose, and its orders came. Entering this sector, it fought continually from Oct. 1 to Oct. 12, under conditions of indescribable difficulties, over a terrain capable of easy defense and against the best German divisions, who knew that defeat there meant the absolute loss of the war. The situation is best set forth by General Pershing in General Order 201, the only order devoted during the war to a single command. It begins:

The Commander in Chief desires to make of record \* \* \* his extreme satisfaction with the conduct of the officers and soldiers of the 1st Division in its advance west of the Meuse between Oct. 4 and 11, 1918.

The 1st Division paid a fearful price for its Argonne victory, the casualties numbering 8,554, of whom 117 were officers. Killed, 851; wounded severely, 2,664; wounded slightly, 1,710; gassed, 1,614; missing, (mostly dead, it is thought,) 1,715. One of every three!

Ordinarily this would have been the end of a division for months, but the 1st answered promptly for an emergency in the operations against Nouzon and Sedan, (Nov. 3-8,) where it sustained losses of 1,087 and captured fifty-four men, guns, &c.

Summarized, its war casualties, killed, wounded, gassed, and missing, aggregated 23,974, of whom 715 were officers. Its losses by disease are unknown, but the total replacements slightly exceed 30,000.

The armistice signed, the 1st Division left Abincourt, near Verdun, six days later, and by a march of more than 200 miles occupied the Coblenz bridgehead on Dec. 24. It was the first American force to cross the Rhine.

## French Monument to Americans

### In Honor of the First Soldiers Who Died Under Our Flag in France

**A**N imposing ceremony took place at Nancy, in Eastern France, Nov. 3, 1918, when the French people, with the aid of the American Ambassador, William G. Sharp, dedicated a monument erected to the memory of the first

three American soldiers who had died in battle under the Stars and Stripes in France. [See *CURRENT HISTORY*, December, 1917, for funeral.] The monument, designed by a Nancy artist, Louis Majorelle, stands at Barthélemy, in the



Department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, but as it was then in the battle zone the dedication exercises were held at Nancy. It consists of a tall column, on one side of which is sculptured the cross of Lorraine, with the inscription, "France-Etats-Unis, 1917—La Lorraine aux Etats-Unis." On the other side are the names of the three Americans: "Corporal J. B. Gresham, Evansville; Private Thomas P. Enright, Pittsburgh; Private Merle Hay, Glidden." Then follows this sentence in French:

As sons of their great and beautiful nation they fought for right, for liberty, for civilization against German imperialism, the scourge of the human race. They died on the field of honor.

All the chief personalities of the region were present, including M. Mirman, the Prefect of the department, who had originated the idea of this monument. M. Simon, Mayor of Nancy, made a stirring speech, and then M. Mirman recalled the fact that the first American soldiers in France got their training in Lorraine. The chief address of the day was pronounced by Ambassador Sharp, who said:

The meaning of the final act in this ceremony pertains not alone to the place where it is taking place, rich as this place is in the emotions it arouses, but belongs among the events of worldwide importance. Does it not express a union that is sacred in its nature because of the immortal principles it emphasizes? For the

triumph and perpetuity of these principles, millions of the bravest sons of the allied nations have laid down their lives.

As a touching memorial of this greatest of sacrifices, the citizens of your department have today dedicated an artistic monument built of stones from the quarries of the Meuse. On this monument is engraved in imperishable letters the fact that in the soil of Lorraine rest the three first American soldiers killed by the enemy while fighting under the flag of the United States, Nov. 3, 1917, one year ago today. After that comes a declaration of the principles for which they so nobly gave their lives: "Justice, liberty, and civilization against German imperialism, the scourge of the human race."

The inherent virtue and power of these principles have been felt by the civilized nations in a manner that has given the maximum of vigor to their armies. Their moral invincibility has never admitted of doubt regarding the outcome by arms. In truth, from the day when the invader's foot first violated the neutrality of Belgian soil to this propitious moment, when the allied armies are triumphing on every side, the final account to be adjusted in the affirmation of these principles has never varied. It is a matter of effacing autocracy forever and of establishing firmly in its place free and representative governments among men. \* \* \*

In taking leave of the mortal remains of those whose sacrifice has been commemorated here today, what greater homage can we pay to their memory, and what greater honor can we pay to their fathers and mothers in my distant country, than to recognize thus publicly the debt which humanity, freed from the menace of military domination, will always owe to them!

## War Work of the Y. M. C. A.

Story of the Association's Services at the Front in Europe and Asia Through Four Years

By FRANK HUNTER POTTER

[OFFICIAL RECORDER OF THE ORGANIZATION'S OVERSEAS WORK.]

WITH the outbreak of the war the Overseas Department of the Young Men's Christian Association began its operations in connection with the combatant nations, both with the Central Powers and with the Allies. The first work undertaken was with the prisoners. The con-

dition of these men, especially with the Central Powers, was deplorable.

Take, for instance, the case of the British civilians interned at the race course of Ruhleben, in the outskirts of Berlin. The men were housed in the stables, six of them to a box stall, where they were bitterly cold in Winter. They



had no means of exercising either their minds or their bodies. The association built a hut for them where they could be warm, and where they could read and write, have cinema shows, plays, and concerts. It provided instruments for a band, and costumes for the plays. To keep the men's minds busy it encouraged classes of all sorts, and enabled them to go on with their education, even in the higher branches, by providing the necessary textbooks. It created a library, got paints, brushes, canvas, and drawing materials for artists, and promoted industrial work by obtaining tools and materials. Last Summer there was held an exhibition of articles made in the camp, and these included leather, silver, and textile goods, wood carving and inlaid work, boats, bookbindings, and all sorts of miscellaneous articles. Also, it helped to keep these men's bodies in condition by providing sporting equipment and encouraging athletic meets.

#### WORK WITH PRISONERS

Bad as was the situation of the civilians at Ruhleben, we now know that it was heaven as compared to that of the British, French, Serbian, Russian, and other combatant prisoners in the prison camps, in mines, and in working parties. These men were ceaselessly visited, whenever it was permitted, by the Y agents, who did what they could to help them, and by bringing them books and giving them cinema shows with their little portable machines and music with their victrolas, and by arranging religious services for them, by communicating with their relatives, by sending their photographs, and in any way which presented itself, brought a little light into their lives. And it was the only light there was. At the time this country went to war with Germany there were twenty-nine men working in the prison camps there and in Austria and in Bulgaria, and work was just beginning in those in Turkey.

After the United States entered the war the work did not stop. All the Americans but one—who was left in charge in Berlin, by permission of the German authorities—had to be withdrawn, but their places were taken by

neutrals—Dutch, Swiss, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian. There was more need for it than ever, for conditions in the camps grew steadily worse, and now it had a more personal interest, for our own boys were beginning to be brought in. It was the Y. M. C. A. Secretary in Berlin who first visited them. It was he who induced the German authorities to concentrate them so far as could be done in a single camp, and it was he who, when he found them living in unhealthy dugouts at that camp—Tuchel—got them removed to a healthier one at Rastatt. He built a hut for them, provided them with all those articles which prisoners so greatly needed—victrolas and cinemas, books, papers, sporting goods—which helped to make their lives endurable, and he got through for them their first parcels of food.

The fate of the Italian, Russian, and Serbian prisoners was hardest of all. The prisoners' rations were barely sufficient to support life, certainly not sufficient to maintain strength with which to ward off disease. The English, French, and American prisoners were, in some measure, supported from home, but Serbia had been devastated, and after the revolution help from Russia was much diminished, while it was found very difficult to get food to the Italians. The prisoners of these nationalities died like flies. What aid the Y could give it did, and it acted as intermediary for the Red Cross. It also purchased, with funds furnished it by the relatives of Italian prisoners, food parcels in Denmark and other neutral countries, and got them through to the starving prisoners, though this was no part of its original plan.

This is only an outline of what the Y has done for prisoners in the Central Empires. What it has done there it has done in France and England, Italy and Russia for the German and Austrian prisoners there. While this policy was suggested on grounds of humanity, it was necessitated by the fact that unless work were done for enemy prisoners all privileges for work among allied prisoners would be withdrawn by the Central Powers.

In a way the association's work for



prisoners in the allied countries was far easier than it was in the Central Powers, for the treatment of the prisoners was incredibly good. One Y representative in France wrote that though many of the officers in charge of prisoners had been wounded or gassed, or their families and friends had suffered the horrors of invasion, these officers, when he expressed surprise at their kindness, said quite simply that "they treat the prisoners as they would like to be treated themselves."

But in another way its work among the prisoners of the Central Powers was more difficult than that for the Allies, for the latter were at least friends among themselves, and that was not the case with the former. The Germans, whether of Germany or Austria, despised the subject races—Bohemians, Poles, and the rest—neglected them in the distribution of delicacies, such as oranges and the like, when these were sent, and treated them with a contempt which was increased by the arrogance of the officer class. The loneliness of these men was pitiable. When a Czech-speaking Secretary, for instance, visited a camp of them for the first time they fairly wept. "We thought everybody had forgotten us," they said.

The association also maintained a service in Switzerland. It had a number of huts for the benefit of allied interned officers and soldiers there. Some of these were at famous health resorts, for the men who were suffering incipient tuberculosis or were otherwise physically broken down. The Y also maintained a bureau at Berne, which was in active communication with our boys who were prisoners in Germany or Austria. This bureau kept them in touch with their friends, and got through to them sporting goods, footballs, baseball gear and the like, and did whatever could be done to ameliorate their condition.

Of course there was religious work in every prison camp, but the attitude of the association was wholly nonsectarian. The Y huts were used for Catholic or Greek services precisely as the huts in army camps in this country were used for Catholic or Jewish services, and the

directors procured sacramental wafers and wine for the Catholic priests and candles and wine for the Greek priests as willingly as they found Protestant pastors for the German Protestants imprisoned in France. Indeed, the association has shown so little sectarian narrowness that it has even, by arrangement with Cardinal Bourne, been helping to defray the expenses of the Catholic services in the prison camps in England.

### WORK IN FRANCE

Before the war there were in existence in the large garrison towns in France, like Vincennes, small soldiers' clubs with the title "*Foyers du Soldat*," (the home of the soldier,) where they could read and write and have quiet, and which were free from any religious influence. After the declaration of war M. Emmanuel Sautter, a Parisian interested in soldiers, borrowed the title, to which nobody laid claim, and established two of these huts back of the front lines in the French Army with money placed at his disposal for the purpose by Dr. Mott. The work was shortly brought to the attention of the Y. M. C. A., which proceeded to finance it.

The work grew, though not very rapidly at first, because of the suspicious attitude of the French Army authorities. They could not be sure as to just what was the nature of the work which the *Foyer du Soldat* was performing—whether it was religious or political propaganda or what. In the course of time they came to realize that the *Foyers du Soldat* were simply huts where their soldiers were welcome when they came back from the front, where they were warmed after weeks of shivering in the trenches, where they were supplied with hot drinks, with cinema shows, with concerts, with other amusements; where those who liked to be quiet could sit in peace and toast their feet about the stove and where, above everything else, the warmth and kindness of the reception which they met restored their shaken morale and where the "*cafard*" (as the condition of depression which came in the trenches was called) was almost invariably driven away.

During the Winter of 1916-17 the work,



which was increasingly financed by the American Association, and in part manned by them, grew to more than sixty foyers. By this time the French Army recognized fully the value of the work, and during the Summer of 1917 it applied to the Y. M. C. A. of this country to increase it indefinitely. It urged the association to create at the earliest possible moment new foyers to bring the number to more than 1,450.

#### HELPING MANY NATIONALITIES

To procure the number of workers, French or American, necessary to open all these foyers was impossible, but 1,100 or more were in operation at the time of the armistice. The one-thousandth foyer opened was in the Verdun fortress.

The work of the association in these foyers brought it in contact with men from all over the world. It actually carried on work for Chinese, Annamites, Senegalese, Malgaches, (from Madagascar,) Moroccans, Algerians, Portuguese, Poles, Italians, Russians, and a host of Africans from the interior of that continent. An article in *l'illustration* of Paris gave a list of the languages in which were written books found in the foyer libraries—English, French, Italian, Russian, Portuguese, Polish, Turkish, Annamite, Chinese, Japanese, Tonkinese, Classic Arabic and its dialects, Egyptian, Kybele, Magrahin, Moroccan, Sudanese, Tripolitan, Tunisian, Lake Chad, (Peulh,) Guinea, and Bambara, dialects of the Congo, Gbea, Sfumi, (Bateke.) And the list was probably incomplete.

The work of the foyers was carried up to the very front trenches, of course, and it was a matter of pride that it was the only organization which held on to the last with the troops after the advance of the Germans over the *Chemin des Dames*, the directors leaving their huts only after they were under machine-gun fire, and following up their poilus on the offensive of July 18, remaining with them through the battle till it ended at the Aisne.

Another work in which the association directors were found valuable was that of training the French in American out-

door sports. The French recognized the value of the physical training in our games and are still developing an American sports program for the poilus.

#### ACTIVITIES IN ITALY

The Y. M. C. A. activities for the Italian Army did not differ materially from those for the French. When the Y work began in Italy in 1917 there were some 150 "Case del Soldato," which correspond in a general way to the *Foyers du Soldat*. These were under the direction of Don Giovanni Menozzi, Head Catholic Chaplain of the Italian Army. They carried on a general welfare work for the soldiers, and the association's offer of co-operation in the work was cordially welcomed. Several Italians undertook to work out the details, among them Prince Borghese and Father Genocchi, one of the most distinguished Catholic divines in Italy, who has visited this country several times and is well known here.

At the time of the armistice there were some 275 men working in the camps and in huts in cities where there were large concentrations of recruits, like Naples, and where there was great need of decent places for the boys to congregate.

Athletic sports were introduced by the directors as well as hygienic gymnastic exercises for the men recovering from wounds or convalescing from illness. There was also a new field of usefulness for such of the association workers as spoke Italian fluently enough—that of going about the country and delivering speeches to the civilians in order to keep up their morale. No country in Europe, outside of those which have been overrun by the enemy, has been so sorely tried as Italy, and there have been moments of great discouragement, as after the *Caporetto* disaster, which has been increased by skillful German propaganda.

During the great *Piave* offensive, which ended with the complete rout of the Austrians, the Y directors were under fire the whole time and accompanied the units to which they were attached throughout the advance. The verdict on their courage and devotion was given by the Italian military authorities when, out of thirty-three association men work-



ing on that front, thirty were decorated with the Italian War Cross.

### LABORS IN EGYPT

The problem in Egypt was different from that presented in Europe. Owing to the attack by the Turkish Army on the Suez Canal, that vital line of communication with India and the East, a large body of troops was concentrated along the canal itself and the Red Sea, while danger of attack from the Senussi, the most fanatical body of Moslems now in existence, and having their headquarters south of Tripoli, compelled the maintenance of a number of scattered garrisons on the western frontier of Egypt, in oases, and at points of strategic importance along the Mediterranean. There were at one time more than 200 garrisons in Egypt, and it was the task of the Y. M. C. A. to make life bearable in them.

A description of one will do for all: About 150 miles west of Alexandria, on the shores of the Mediterranean and among the sands of the Libyan Desert, lies Mersa Metruh. The nearest city is more than 100 miles away, wood costs over \$25 a cord, and it costs 15 cents a pint to condense fresh water from sea water, the only water they have to drink or wash in. For the soldier there is nothing visible but the sea before him, the desert around him, and above him the pitiless sun. The mail comes only once a week, and not always then. No wonder that each successive garrison sinks into a state of dull apathy, and that men go mad from the heat, monotony, and loneliness. That is the state of affairs, with local variations, in a great number of stations in Egypt.

The association has a hut, in the first place, in each station which is large enough to warrant it, and it has a force of men who go about from place to place, taking new stocks of cinema films, mostly comic, and victrola records, mostly ragtime, to replace those which have become familiar. It is held to the credit of these men, with their films and records, that so few soldiers have gone mad at these outlying stations. At Mersa Metruh, for instance, only one man lost his reason in some two years.

### IN THE SUDAN

Conditions in the Sudan and on the borders of the Red Sea are even worse for Europeans because of the climate. In the Sudan the day begins at 5 and ends at 8:30 A. M. For the other twenty hours and a half the men have nothing to do—nothing to occupy their minds. The standard of morality is so low in these towns and cities of Egypt where East meets West, and the worst of both is combined, that there is a crying need for a decent place for white men to go. The Y huts supply that need.

There are large numbers of European and Indian troops cantoned about Cairo, and many wounded and convalescent have been brought there and to the neighborhood to recover. The association has opened huts, has athletic training for the convalescents, promotes sporting competitions at the camps, and tries to give the European soldier a chance to lead something like his normal life.

It works not only for European soldiers, but for the Indian Sepoy as well—Sikhs, Gurkas, Bengali, or what not; trained association workers from India live with these men, and serve them not only in the ordinary ways, but by writing their letters for them, by giving them advice in their difficulties, or even by helping them out of serious trouble.

The African work does not stop with the Sudan. The British forces during the campaign in German East Africa were accompanied by association men, and when they and the British discovered the needs of the great multitude of negro porters who carried the baggage and supplies of the army a call was sent to this country. There are now eight trained negroes from the Southern States working with these porters.

### IN MESOPOTAMIA

The advance of the British forces in Mesopotamia was accompanied by the Y. M. C. A., first the English organization, and then, when this country went into the war, by a certain number of American workers, who served under the British Red Triangle. The care of the expeditionary force began back in India, at Bombay, in Calcutta, wherever the Eng-



lish soldier landed, and followed him to the very front. Indeed, the association was proud of the fact that during the advance through the desert their motors would often push ahead and establish posts, so that when the men of the column came up they would find a cooling drink awaiting them and a little shelter from the sun. To give an idea of what cooling drinks mean in this climate, it can be said that last July more than 1,000 gallons of cold drinks were served in one day at the base town of Basra alone, and 300 gallons of tea were served in a day by one worker in the trenches.

There were eighty association men working for British and Indian troops from Basra to the front line, and three days after the capture of Bagdad the association was at work in that city. At last accounts there were 101 workers in Mesopotamia and 100 separate stations. The American Y. M. C. A. has given generously of its money as well as of its workers for this distant war zone.

#### RED TRIANGLE IN RUSSIA

There was active work in the prison camps in Russia at the time of the first revolution, and this work continued through the Kerensky régime. During the latter period, as the United States had gone into the war, a beginning was made also in doing for the Russian soldier what was done for the Frenchman in the Foyers and for the Italian in the Case del Soldato. Permission was obtained from the Kerensky Government to establish huts at the front, and a number of men were sent by the Y. M. C. A. from America for this work, which meanwhile was carried on by such men as were already in Russia and who could be spared for it from the work in the prison camps. At Tashkent, where it was first carried on, it was exceedingly successful, and showed the amenability of the Russian peasant—who, of course, makes up the army—to such influences as the association can exert. The troops in Tashkent with which the association was working were pronounced, after six months of this work, to be the best disciplined soldiers in the Russian Army.

The bulk of the new men sent from this country arrived about the time the Kerensky Government was overthrown and the Bolsheviks came into power. The Russian Army, deprived of all discipline and without officers, simply melted away, each private filling a gunnysack with provisions, slinging his rifle over his back, and calmly going off to the nearest railroad station without asking leave of anybody, for there was nobody in authority of whom to ask leave. As there was no possibility of the Russian Army's continuing in the war, a few of the Secretaries returned in order to work on other fronts; but the great majority preferred to stay and help the Russian people, for whom they had contracted a very real affection. These men were scattered all over European Russia and Siberia, from Petrograd to Vladivostok, from Archangel to Tiflis. They composed a body more numerous than our Diplomatic and Consular Corps, Military Mission, Red Cross, and Committee of Public Information combined.

#### MILLIONS IN MERCHANDISE

The total value of all merchandise shipped overseas by the business department of the Y. M. C. A. from July, 1917, to Dec. 31, 1918, has been summarized as follows by the association's publicity bureau:

France .....	\$22,146,692.96
England .....	410,848.35
Italy .....	742,825.00
Les Foyers Du Soldat.....	194,959.59
Gibraltar—Navy Base No. 9.....	105,245.04
Russia (Vladivostok).....	152,037.44
Russia (White Sea).....	68,528.47
Prisoners of war (Copenhagen).....	73,370.98
Switzerland (books and magazines) .....	210.29
Freight and insurance.....	1,092,282.24
Total .....	\$24,987,000.45

The athletic goods sent to the soldiers in that period alone filled 11,223 cases and were valued at \$1,248,854. Flour and sugar shipments totaled \$1,169,057 and \$1,711,314, respectively, but the cigars amounted to \$2,004,549, and the cigarettes—the largest single item—to \$6,959,077.



# Passing of the Hapsburg Sovereignty

## Epoch-Making Events of the Night of Oct. 28, 1918, Which Ended the Rule of Emperor Charles I.

*Read in connection with articles in the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, (Pages 300 and 302,) the following narrative forms a fairly complete sketch of the inside events which marked the end of the Hapsburg dynasty in Austria-Hungary and the beginning of the attempt to organize Austria and Hungary into separate republics. It was written at Geneva on Jan. 5, 1919, by a correspondent of The London Telegraph who had obtained confidential reports from Budapest:*

DOWN to the very end the Emperor and his entourage refused to believe that the situation was serious, or that there was any real probability of the overthrow of the dynasty. The Emperor and Empress, with their family, were living at the Castle of Gödöllő, near Budapest. They were in close and constant communication with Count Berchtold and Prince Windischgrätz, both of whom assured the Emperor that there was no danger. The latter, when it was suggested that the returning Hungarian troops might not fire on the revolutionaries if an outbreak occurred, replied: "That does not matter; the Czech troops will shoot." This was an answer characteristic of the Hungarian magnates, who were blind to the changes that had taken place in the political situation, and deliberately refused to believe that the existing order of things of which they themselves were, and had been for so long, the centre and the controlling influence, could possibly be ended by a mere popular upheaval. Their obstinacy and mistakes remind one of the events of the French Revolution.

The Emperor himself was not so much to blame. From the time he ascended the throne he was genuinely anxious for peace with the Entente Powers and for the introduction of social and political reforms in his empire. But, unfortunately for himself and his dynasty, he lacked the necessary force of character to impose his will upon the men by whom he was surrounded. If the German attack in the early part of 1918 had been less successful things might have been different, but in the Spring the advisers

of the Austrian Emperor had visions of a German victory which would enable them to stave off the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire for another generation. When the German armies were defeated, and the great retreat began, the situation in the Dual Monarchy was beyond hope of recovery. Even then the men about the Emperor Charles refused to face the facts, and misled their sovereign with false hopes and unwise advice.

Toward the end of October the Emperor summoned Count Karolyi to Gödöllő and kept him there for two days, discussing the situation. If his advice had been followed it is possible that the revolution might still have been averted. On Oct. 26 the Emperor and Empress left Gödöllő for Vienna by special train, taking Count Karolyi with them. It was universally believed that the Count was to be appointed Prime Minister, and he himself said so to some of his intimate friends. Arrived at Vienna, the royal couple proceeded to Schönbrunn, and Count Karolyi went to a hotel to await, as he thought, the summons to attend at the castle to receive his appointment. The day passed and no message came. Meanwhile the Emperor was surrounded by the old Viennese gang, who urged that the storm would pass. The Emperor, ever swayed by the persons talking to him at the moment, forgot Karolyi and the promise that had been given to make him Chief Minister of the Crown. On the second day of his stay in Vienna the Count heard of the new orientation of affairs, and, losing patience and perhaps hope, returned straightway to



Budapest to await the catastrophe which he now knew to be inevitable.

#### A TWENTY-FOUR-HOUR MINISTRY

Count Hadik was appointed Prime Minister by the Emperor, on the advice of the group of statesmen who surrounded him at Schönbrunn. The Hadik Ministry lasted twenty-four hours, when it collapsed, and revolution broke out in Budapest. The royal children had been left at Gödöllő in charge of their uncle, Prince René of Parma, the Emperor's brother. On the night of Oct. 28, after midnight, a frantic telephone message was sent to Prince René by the Empress herself, directing that her children should be sent at once by motor car to Vienna. The little ones, of whom the eldest is only 11 years old, were roused from their sleep, placed in three motor cars, and brought safely to Vienna. The castle at Gödöllő was watched by Republican agents hidden among the shrubberies in the park. When these saw the windows lighting up one after another as the preparations were made for the removal of the royal children, they sent urgent messages to the city that something was afoot in Gödöllő.

Some eager Republicans were hurrying to the royal residence, and in a short time a big crowd was assembled before the castle. But they came too late. Prince René was aware of the need of haste, and before the earliest of the crowd had reached the neighborhood of the vast pile which formed the chief Hungarian residence of the Emperor, the royal children were well on their way to Vienna. It is not supposed that the crowd had any hostile intention toward the children, but their attitude was disturbing until an old retainer mounted to the roof of the castle and hoisted the Hungarian colors on the flagstaff. The crowd cheered, and then the news spread that the royal children had gone to Vienna. At this the crowd cheered again, and then went quietly away.

When the revolution occurred the Emperor hesitated between abdication and an attempt to subdue the outbreak by force. But at last his entourage had recognized that the long reign of the Hapsburgs was over—for a time, at

least; and on the urgent representation of Count Hadik and Baron Wlassies the Emperor reluctantly signed his abdication. Down almost to the very end the unhappy monarch had not been told the real condition of affairs in his kingdom. When at length he found that the only alternatives open to him were abdication and a hopeless attempt to subdue the rebellion, he reproached his Ministers bitterly for the deception that had been practiced with regard to him.

#### BLIND STATESMEN

Prince Windischgrätz was one of the men who had the largest share in this folly. Even on the eve of the outbreak he communicated over the telephone in a light and airy tone and assured the Emperor that there was no need for anxiety.

It is interesting to know that practically all the communications between the imperial residence and the Ministries in Budapest and Vienna were carried on by telephone. A system of telephones had been long before set up which enabled this to be done, as was supposed, in complete secrecy. But the rulers of Austria-Hungary, blind in this as in so much else, failed to discover that the electricians and operators in the telephone service were heart and soul with the republican movement. Instead of the communications being secret, as the Emperor and his Ministers believed, every conversation passed through a special office prepared by the electricians and was carefully written down in shorthand. Transcripts of the notes so taken were furnished almost hourly to the republican leaders, so that they were familiar with every plan and move of the Government.

Some of these conversations are very interesting. For example, on the day he assumed office Count Hadik telephoned to the Archduke Joseph asking him whether anything had been done to combat a revolution, and what steps should be taken to that end. "Don't ask me," replied the Archduke. "I think it is now too late. Leave me out of it, and do what you think fit!"

Then the Military Governor of Budapest telephoned to the Prime Minister, saying he had a list of the revolutionary



leaders, and suggesting that they should be arrested. The Minister replied: "Certainly, arrest them at once." But nothing was done, because the Governor did not care to act without the direct authority of the King. At 2 o'clock in the morning he telephoned to Schönbrunn, asking permission to speak to the Emperor personally. Count Hunyadi, the Royal Chamberlain, who took the message, replied that his Majesty was asleep and he dared not wake him. An hour later the Governor, having received alarming news in the meantime, again rang up the royal residence and commanded the Chamberlain to call the King to the telephone. This time there was something in General Lukachick's tone that frightened the easy-going Viennese courtier, and Count Hunyadi went to the royal bedchamber and summoned the Emperor.

#### A FATEFUL MESSAGE

The message the Emperor heard, as he stood shivering in his nightclothes with the receiver at his ear, was as follows:

Your Majesty, the situation in Budapest is exceedingly grave. The public buildings have been occupied by the revolutionaries, and the soldiers refuse to obey orders. A few are faithful, and nothing but force applied at once can save the situation. I want your Majesty's authority to order the soldiers who remain true to shoot the revolutionary ringleaders. If you don't, all is lost.

The indecisive monarch turned to Count Hunyadi, crying, "What am I to do?" Then, without waiting for a reply, he telephoned to General Lukachick: "No, don't shoot. Wait." He stood a few moments longer in hesitation, put down the receiver, and went back to bed.

Half an hour later the Emperor changed his mind, and, rushing to the telephone, asked to be put through to the Hungarian Prime Minister at Budapest,

his Majesty's intention being to pass the order for the employment of force through the head of the Government. But matters had been moving in the meantime, and the telephone operator refused to put through the call.

Count Hunyadi, who was standing by the Emperor's side, took the transmitter and ordered the telephone girl, in the King's name, to make the connection to Budapest. "We take our orders now from the Hungarian National Council, and not from Kings or their servants," was the curt reply. The Court Chamberlain stormed and threatened into the telephone receiver, but the operator remained obdurate.

Then the Count changed his tone and said: "Well, at least tell me what is happening at Budapest."

"All power is in the hands of the National Council," was the overwhelming answer.

Count Hunyadi communicated this ominous statement to his helpless Emperor. A hurried consultation took place between the two men. Then the Empress was summoned and told the situation of affairs. Without a word the Empress went to the telephone and asked to be put through to the royal residence at Gödöllő. In that hour of crisis, in the small hours of the morning, the maternal instincts of the woman came uppermost. It was no longer an Empress thinking of her crown, but a woman anxious about her children who was speaking. The other woman in the telephone exchange felt a thrill of sympathy and responded to it. The connection to Gödöllő was made, and the mother, not the Empress, sent the message about her children to Prince René, to which I have already referred, and the little ones were brought in safety to Schönbrunn.

In that hour the last Hapsburg ceased to reign over Hungary.





# The Hungarian People's Republic

## Early Difficulties Encountered

ON the day of the formal proclamation of the Hungarian People's Republic, headed by Count Michael Karolyi, Nov. 16, 1918, the Government sent out a wireless message addressed "To All Civilized Nations," in which it declared the rebirth of Hungary to be an accomplished fact. The proclamation said in part:

The triumphant October revolution tore from the earth the last roots of the hampering compromise agreement (Ausgleich) of 1867. The work of this revolution was crowned today by the proclamation of the republic, and so, freed from all the institutions, from all the men, from the entire spirit of the past, the nation is preparing itself to create a pleasant home for the people living in Hungarian territory and to lead them again into the society of nations as worthy and respected comrades.

The Hungarian Republic founded in 1849 was the first in Eastern Europe. It had to fall. But now Hungary has again returned to the noble traditions of its past and the young Hungarian Republic turns to all the free peoples of the world with an appeal for support in the hard task of reorganizing Hungary. The sins of the former Governments make this work frightfully difficult. But the Hungarian Republic wants to reshape Hungary in the most complete and purest spirit of democracy based on President Wilson's points, and it is confident that the liberated forces of the people will find on this basis the possibility of joint, peaceful, and fraternal labor. Filled with this hope, the Hungarian Republic turns to all civilized nations today and asks them, in the name of the eternal solidarity of democracy, for their good wishes and their support in its great and holy endeavor.

We request all the civilized nations that are equal members of the society of nations to take cognizance of the forming of the Hungarian People's Republic and to accept it as a member of the community of nations with equal rights, so that the Hungarian People's Republic may be able to enter into diplomatic relations with the other members of this community as soon as possible. The Hungarian People's Republic declares that it will welcome the arrival of plenipotentiaries of the other nations and will always maintain the rights and privileges due them under international law. It asks the same treat-

ment for the representatives that it intends to send to the individual members of the community of nations. For it is its firm intention to resume as soon as possible the peaceful intercourse that binds the nations together and which is the most solid basis of all international law.

The text of the pronouncement adopted Nov. 16 at the plenary meeting of the Hungarian National Council, the body functioning temporarily as the Hungarian Parliament following the formal dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies and the House of Magnates, is as follows:

The National Council of Hungary has created the following popular resolution in accord with the will of the people:

I. Hungary is a People's Republic, free and independent of any other country.

II. The Constitution of the People's Republic will be established by the Constituent National Assembly soon to be called and elected on the basis of the new suffrage. The Chamber of Deputies and the House of Magnates of the Hungarian Reichstag are dissolved and cease to exist.

III. Until the Constituent National Assembly decrees to the contrary, the People's Government, under the Presidency of Michael Karolyi, exercises, with the support of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian National Council, the supreme powers of the State.

IV. The People's Government is to create imperatively needed popular laws for the universal, secret, equal, direct suffrage, including that of women, for national, municipal, and communal elections; for the freedom of the press; for popular courts of justice, with jury trials; for the rights of association and assemblage, and for the supplying of the agricultural population with land and property. The People's Government will imperatively bring into existence laws and put them into effect.

V. All legal dispositions conflicting with these resolutions lose their legal force. All other legal arrangements remain in force.

### INTERNAL CONFUSION

At the close of 1918 Hungary was a hotbed of political factions, all at odds with each other, and the dominant political power was in the hands of the Ironworkers' Party. About the middle of December the Minister of War, General



Bartha, and the Minister of the Interior, Count Bathiany, were compelled to resign because of the demand made by the soldiers that the Minister of War should thereafter be a civilian and that the army should be constituted upon a democratic basis. Vinzenz Hazy became the Minister of the Interior and Count Karolyi became the nominal head of the War Ministry.

The radical leaders and Social Democrats were seeking to establish a semi-revolutionary form of government by preventing the presence of a strong military force. The Ironworkers' Party was dominated by a Socialist whose desire was to maintain order. In this the party succeeded to a certain extent, but the maintenance of private property rights was not on the program and there were many seizures of private property daily. There were sixteen different soldiers' councils in Budapest, making seizures and requisitions early in the revolution, but subsequently a better balance was restored.

Food conditions in Hungary were good in the country districts, but bad in Budapest and most of the other towns. The transport conditions were appalling, there being a great shortage of cars. There was plenty of money about, but it was of no use, since food was lacking. The State servants were excellently paid. Hungary had eighty State Secretaries, each getting 40,000 crowns (\$8,000) a year, with various free privileges and allowances.

#### INVADED AND HELPLESS

After the revolution the Hungarians signed the armistice with General Franchet, who at the time made a line of demarkation and obliged the troops to disarm and retire from all frontiers. It was promised that American, English, and French troops would occupy the frontiers. In place of this Rumanians, Serbs, and Czechs, following up their respective claims to various parts of Hungary, invaded that country, crossing the lines of demarkation made by General Franchet. Budapest became practically a frontier town, with the Czechs only thirty kilometers away. As the

Hungarians had been forced to disarm under the conditions of the armistice, the various invading troops assumed control everywhere. All communication with the regions economically most valuable to Hungary was stopped. Salt, wood, coal, gold, and a large part of the nation's grain and cattle had come from these parts of the country, so that Hungary became economically impotent. The people from all the invaded countries fled to the centre, Budapest, which doubled its population from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 in the space of two months.

Lack of coal especially menaced Hungary with the gravest consequences. Factories were stopped, houses unheated in the Winter months, the streets dark, the shops shut at sundown, and there was no public safety. The Government was obliged to pay the strikers 41 kroner daily in order to combat Bolshevism. The menace of economic Bolshevism grew with the lack of coal, and political Bolshevism spread with the advance of the invading troops, whose unhindered progress caused the Government to lose its prestige, deprived as it was of the support of its armies.

#### SPREAD OF BOLSHEVISM

By January the spread of Bolshevism into Hungary, superinduced by Russian influences, had begun to be an active disintegrating force. New Year's Eve in Budapest was celebrated with riot and murder in the city's streets. After unsuccessful efforts on the part of the Government to suppress his influence, Dr. Bela Kun, the chief Bolshevik agitator in Hungary, had eluded arrest and incited disturbances among the soldiers in the city. Taking advantage of the lack of coal, the closing of factories, the growth of the food shortage, and the steadily soaring prices of necessities, Bela Kun carried his appeal to those directly affected by the war, the great unemployed elements, and quickly raised a large following.

With the decision of the Workmen's Council in the second week of January that the Ministries of War and the Interior should be headed by Social Democrats, Count Karolyi received the resig-



nation of the members of the Cabinet who represented the moderates, which was followed by that of the whole Cabinet.

The Executive Committee of the National Council was called together to find some manner of clearing the situation. Count Karolyi reminded the committee that the Government had been formed on Oct. 31 of members of Karolyi's party and that he had been charged on Nov. 16 with the direction of the affairs of this Government and the creation of the necessary laws. The Government had fulfilled a great part of its task despite innumerable difficulties, but it was retarded from proceeding to the

elections owing to the fact that three-fifths of the country was invaded. With the resignation of the Cabinet Count Karolyi declared that he wished to leave the Government himself, but that he felt constrained by the duties intrusted to him on Nov. 16 to hold his post. The Executive Committee decided unanimously that the supreme power should be lodged in a popular government headed by Count Karolyi until such time as the Constitutional Assembly ordained otherwise. The National Council then intrusted Count Karolyi provisionally with full powers to form a new government, and this he proceeded to do, seeking the support of all the stronger elements.

## Organizing German Austria

### A Tentative Republic

**T**HE Austrian National Assembly, in its first session, on Nov. 13, 1918, unanimously adopted a resolution presented by the Council of State, demanding that a German Austrian Republic be proclaimed, and that it form a part of the German Republic. Following is the text of the resolution:

A law relative to the type of State and manner of Government to be established in German Austria:

**Article I.** Austria is a democratic republic. All public powers reside in the people.

**Art. II.** German Austria forms an integral part of the German Republic. Special laws shall govern the participation of German Austria in the legislation and administration of the German Republic, and shall determine the force of laws and customs of the German Republic in German Austria.

**Art. III.** All the rights appertaining to the Emperor under the Constitution of the kingdoms and States represented in the Reichsrat are conferred upon the Council of State of German Austria, provisionally, until such time as the Constituent Assembly has established a definite Constitution.

**Art. IV.** The royal and imperial ministries are dissolved. Their functions and powers in the territory of German Austria are placed in the hands of the ministries of that State. The rights of the other independent States that have arisen on the

soil of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy are guaranteed them.

**Art. V.** All laws according the Emperor and members of the imperial family special prerogatives are abolished.

**Art. VI.** All officers and soldiers are released from their oath of fidelity to the Emperor.

**Art. VII.** A law shall provide for the disposition of crown property.

**Art. VIII.** All political privileges shall be abolished. The House of Lords and the Diet are abolished.

**Art. IX.** The National Constituent Assembly shall be elected in January, 1919. The Provisional National Assembly will order the manner of holding the elections. The elections will be conducted on the principles of proportional representation and equal and direct franchise for all electors, without sex distinction.

**Art. X.** Elections in provinces, districts, wards, and precincts shall be held according to the same principles. Local elections will be governed by the Provisional National Assembly. They will take place within three months. Existing local Assemblies shall be made complete by the addition of workmen's representatives.

**Art. XI.** This law goes into effect on the day of its proclamation.

A certain portion of the Austrians, those who had looked forward to a restoration of Charles I., considered that the constant suggestion to the allied powers of a union between Germany and



Austria was not wise; the Austrian Socialist leader, Bauer, however, gave open expression to the idea by declaring for a union with Germany.

Those who had taken a part in the nation's political life under the old régime hoped to win over the Allies to a plan for a "Danubian Federation," which was to have as its capital, Vienna, and was to be, in reality, a reconstituted Austria. Among the conditions of this arrangement the following stand out: (1) The Tyrol should not be given to Italy; (2) the German regions of Bohemia should not be incorporated into a Czechoslovak State, but should constitute a union of Bohemian provinces, and the Germans in Czech regions should be accorded the same rights for their language as those enjoyed by persons speaking the Czech language; (3) the German States of the south could join this federation; (4) the allied powers should endeavor to effect a reconciliation between the Czechs and Germans in Austria that this project of reconstructing Austria might succeed.

In a note transmitted orally early in January, 1919, to the Diplomatic Corps in Vienna, the German Austrian Government expressed the hope that the existence and liberty of the independent State of German Austria would be recognized by the civilized world and a place accorded it in the Society of Nations. The note defined German Austria as "internal Austria," with German Styria, German Tyrol, German Carinthia, and the German districts of Northern Bohemia. The new republic, it was added, wished to enter into relations with all civilized nations as soon as possible. If Czechoslovakia were to include the above-named regions, it would be no lasting advantage to it, the note said; it would be reconstituting ancient Austria with an amalgam of peoples.

The note demanded a plebiscite for towns almost exclusively German, such as Marburg, Radkersburg, Klagenfurt, Villach, Bozen, and Brunex. It asserted that the young republic must form part either of a Danube confederation by a union with other new-born States, or be attached to Germany, and then gave reasons against the former course, de-

claring that an attachment with Germany was the only possibility.

#### BOLSHEVISM IN AUSTRIA

Although political developments in the States which formerly composed the empire of the Hapsburgs seemed peaceful enough in comparison with the outbreaks of Bolshevist frenzy in Germany, there were storm signs also in German Austria, Hungary, and even in Bohemia. Attempts were being made by the extreme Socialist elements in Budapest, Vienna, and Prague to effect an agreement between Hungarian, German-Austrian, and Bohemian Socialist parties, with a view to joint political action.

Bauer, the Austrian Socialist leader, was secretly intriguing in Vienna to prevent German Austria from being supplied with food by the Entente. He raised difficulties of all kinds in order to prevent food from reaching Vienna, for the Austrian Socialists feared that the Allies' generous action toward their fallen enemy might influence the population and forestall not only union with Germany but also the establishment of Socialistic rule.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, the German Foreign Minister, in an interview in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, declared that Foreign Minister Pichon of France had announced publicly that France would not tolerate the union of German Austria with Germany. This stand, the Count said, would mean that the German-speaking peoples would have no place in the new world in the upbuilding of which they would like to collaborate. The German Foreign Minister added:

It is incompatible, however, that the Slav nations should receive the unrestricted right of self-determination while it is refused to German Austria.

The Foreign Minister said that the recent note sent to the Allies by German Austria appeared to him to be permeated with a spirit of sincerity in which the right of self-determination for German Austrians was claimed unambiguously. The German Austrians, he continued, were assured of the full moral and political support of the German Nation and Government.



# The Czechoslovaks and Jugoslavs

## Methods of the Revolutionists

*A staff correspondent of the Paris Temps, A. de Guillerville, writing from Prague in January, 1919, gave this account of the Czechoslovak revolution:*

THE revolution that triumphed in Prague and Zagreb (Agram) on Oct. 28 and 29, 1918, had been carefully prepared for many months before the final coup, awaiting only the signal from the recognized Czech leaders in Entente countries.

Bohemia had tried for three centuries, by all possible means, to regain its liberty, lost at the battle of the White Mountain in 1620. All Czech history is but the relation of the long struggle against the Germanic domination of Austria. In all the Bohemian towns the local associations and school societies were the headquarters of an ardent patriotic propaganda movement. These organizations, persecuted by the Austrian police and military authorities, became secret societies at the beginning of the war, the most famous of which assumed the name of the "Maffia," borrowed from Sicily. The conspirators, following the clever methods of the Carbonari of former times, did not know each other, save for two fellow-workers, with whom each member, respectively, carried on his work. Dr. Szarnal, the chief of the Maffia, who became the Mayor of Prague after the revolution, alone knew all of his fellow-workers.

It was this organization—to which belonged Dr. Benes; M. Stanek, the Minister of Labor in the new Government; Dr. Stephanek, who acted as Minister to Paris, and Dr. Borsky, who became Minister to Rome—which assured the Czech patriots at Prague and Vienna communication with the Czechoslovak committee at Paris. Czech women, employes, and even servants, undertook perilous missions, risking life and liberty in order to serve their cause. It should be known also that there were many Czechs in all the Ministries and in all the important administrative branches of the Austrian Government, who stopped at nothing when their cause against the oppressor was called into question.

The "Maffia" had placed a Czech manservant in the home of Count Stürgkh, the President of the Austrian Council, who was assassinated by Fritz Adler. This servant each night gathered up the papers which he found on his master's desk and took them home, where he made copies of them on a typewriter. Women placed these copies in umbrella handles, and in that manner forwarded them to Switzerland or to Paris. They came back to Austria with the instructions of the Czechoslovak committees. The police arrested many suspected persons, among them President Masaryk's daughter and the wife of Dr. Benes, whom they imprisoned among thieves and prostitutes, but the secret was never discovered.

Thanks to this widespread organization, which was on the alert constantly, the Czechs were always informed of the most secret actions taken at the court and at the General Staff Headquarters. Even the decisions reached by Emperors William and Charles at their last meeting were learned. One of the conspirators, Dr. Rambousek, had discovered an invisible ink, and correspondence was exchanged by means of bulletin reviews, which the censorship permitted to pass, messages being written between the printed lines. In spite of all chemical reactions tried, the mysterious ink remained invisible to the police agents. Just eight days before the revolution the police forbade the sending of books and magazines outside of Austria. This did not prevent Dr. Benes from warning his friends at Prague "to prepare for the revolution."

On Oct. 29, when Prague was celebrating the triumph of the revolution, one of the members of the "Maffia" brought the last secret message of Dr. Benes to his colleagues: "Do not lose courage; the Czechoslovak Government is recognized by the Entente, with Thomas Masaryk as President."



### JUGOSLAVIA RECOGNIZED

The Union of the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian peoples was recognized by the United States in a formal statement issued on Feb. 7, 1919, by Secretary of State Lansing. The text of the statement is as follows:

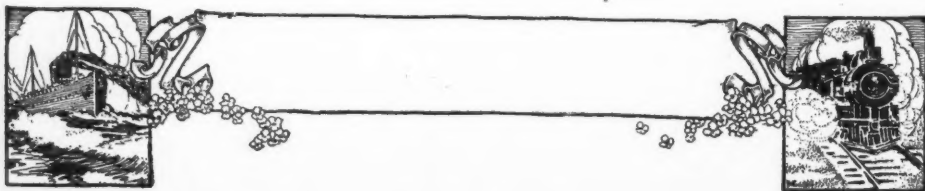
On May 29, 1918, the Government of the United States expressed its sympathy for the nationalistic aspirations of the Yugoslav races, and on June 28 declared that all branches of the Slav race should be completely freed from German and Aus-

trian rule. After having achieved their freedom from foreign oppression, the Yugoslavs, formerly under Austro-Hungarian rule, on various occasions expressed the desire to unite with the Kingdom of Serbia. The Serbian Government, on its part, has publicly and officially accepted the union of the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian peoples.

The Government of the United States, therefore, welcomes the union, while recognizing that the final settlement of territorial frontiers must be left to the Peace Conference for adjudication according to the desires of the peoples concerned.

### Transporting Locomotives to France

When they learned that British locomotives were being shipped across the English Channel, ready to travel under their own steam on their arrival in France, American Army transport officers decided that American locomotives could be taken over the same way. Accordingly, a fleet of ore-carrying vessels with hatches sufficiently large to accommodate such bulky cargo was commandeered for carrying the big machines. The ships each had three holds, 60 feet wide and 102 feet long, with hatches 39 by 42 feet. Twelve locomotives, each weighing seventy-three tons, were packed into each hold, making a total of thirty-six engines for each ship. The heavy machines rested on a floor supported by 3,000 tons of steel rails. They were braced with heavy wooden timbers against the pitching and rocking of the ship, and baled hay was packed closely into all unoccupied spaces. A second flooring was laid on the hay, and this supported the tenders. Still more cargo was piled on top of the tenders on the deck level, and in some instances crated airplanes were packed into the spaces on the deck. With its cargo of locomotives, other machinery, and supplies each vessel carried a dead weight of 14,000 tons, exclusive of its own machinery, coal, and supplies. The locomotives were taken, fourteen at a trip, on big railroad barges to the sides of the ships, and there 100-ton derricks on floating barges transferred them to their places in the holds. To hoist an engine from the barge, swing it over, and lower it into the hold required about twenty minutes. The whole time consumed in transferring a shipment of the ponderous machines from the factory to the wharf, loading them into the ships, and carrying them to France was a little less than twelve days. Within a few hours after they were unloaded on the other side they were completely assembled and ready to move off under their own power. Within a few months more than 400 of these seventy-three-ton machines were shipped from New York. In addition to this number, 1,200 were shipped in sections, each engine being packed in nine cases.





# The Sinking of the Viribus Unitis

## Official Report of the Destruction of the Austrian Dreadnought by Two Italian Officers

By LIEUTENANT COLONEL R. ROSSETTI

[Of the Italian Naval Construction Corps]

*Two Italian officers, Colonel Rossetti and Dr. Paolucci, aided only by an ingenious apparatus for passing obstructions, swam into the harbor of Pola during the night of Oct. 31-Nov. 1, 1918, and sank the Austrian flagship Viribus Unitis by daring and unprecedented methods. They remained in the water eight hours, and were prisoners on the enemy dreadnought when their torpedo sank it, yet escaped alive. The following narrative is a translation of an official report—written in the form of a diary—by the leader of the expedition, Colonel Rossetti, a Genoese, who is also the inventor of the motor device that was used to get the mine over the formidable obstructions closing the entrance to the harbor, and to penetrate into the heart of this strongly fortified Austro-Hungarian naval base. The Viribus Unitis was the newest and largest of Austria's superdreadnoughts, with a displacement of 20,010 tons and an armament of twelve 12-inch guns, and had cost \$13,000,000.*

THE operation that resulted in sinking the dreadnought Viribus Unitis in the port of Pola on the morning of Nov. 1, 1918, was carried out in its last phase as follows:

10:15 P. M.,\* Oct. 31.—The towrope that connects our special apparatus with the chaser M. A. S. 95 is loosened. We have been in our places for some minutes, have made sure that everything is in perfect condition, and have reported to Commander Ciano† that all is well. The pressure of air in the reservoir is 205 atmospheres—greater than during any of the preliminary experiments. We are in splendid physical condition and of good courage.

We leave the chaser on our left with the parting whisper, "Viva il Re!" Following instructions, I steer half way between the lighthouse on Cape Compare (always lighted) and another far to the left of this, which we believe to be at

Punta Cristo. The phosphorescence is unusual; it will force us later on, while working near the enemy sentinels, to move much slower than the estimated speed of two knots.

10:30 P. M.—The obstruction at the extreme end of the jetty is now reached; it is probably a little south of the point indicated on our chart. The obstruction is made of long beams, linked together at the ends by about two meters of wire rope. At intervals are large buoys that keep the obstruction in position. We put our apparatus in line with the beams, and, by pushing against them, drag it slowly forward for more than a quarter of an hour. During this time the searchlight of Cape Compare is flashed once, and lights us up in the ordinary inspection made of the surface of the water and the first obstruction. The light is not thrown again while we are outside the jetty.

At a certain point the beams of the outer edge of the obstruction are submerged, and we can no longer guide ourselves by them. I put the motor slowly into action, and we move toward the right, with the idea of reaching the inner edge of the obstruction or one of the supporting diagonals. We reach the inner side and again alternately pull

\*Each officer carried a watch with a luminous dial, protected by a special watertight glass case. Most of the hours noted are, therefore, accurate; where any uncertainty exists the word "about" has been used.

†Lieut. Col. Rossetti and Dr. Paolucci were taken on board the chaser M. A. S. 95 to a point near the harbor of Pola. Commander Ciano remained on board the chaser in charge of the expedition.—TRANSLATOR.



ourselves along and use the motor, for here and there the beams are under water. Finally, to save time, we continue with the motor, but very slowly.

On our left (that is, toward the open sea) I have noticed a submarine with one tower. She is on the surface, and passes, darkened and noiseless, between



LIEUTENANT COLONEL RAFFAELE ROSSETTI

the harbor obstruction and the chaser which had brought us. I can see her like a shadow against the sky, and point her out to Dr. Paolucci.

About 11:15 P. M.—We can distinctly see a red light shining at intervals and moving up and down along the jetty. Probably it is on a patrol boat stationed between the jetty and the outside obstructions. This will not affect us, however, for here we shall be keeping to the outer side of the obstructions.

#### PENETRATING THE OBSTRUCTIONS

About 11:45 P. M.—We are nearing the jetty and are about 100 meters from it after passing rapidly through the second diagonal. At my request Dr. Paolucci swims off to explore in the direction

of the jetty, and returns in a few minutes to say that we can proceed. During this pause I notice that a rather strong current runs northward along the coast. We move on until we reach the jetty, and then work along parallel with it, placing ourselves between our apparatus and the jetty. We have a good hand hold, as the jetty is made of blocks of cement, piled one on another. The current, too, is in our favor. Everything is going smoothly, but we are losing far too much time, so I venture to start the motor once more. This is not really imprudent—notwithstanding the phosphorescence produced by increased speed—for the breakwater, with large intervals between the cement masses, surely cannot be patrolled at night by a sentry. We are in a "dead sector" as far as sentries are concerned.

12:30 A. M.—Still clinging to the jetty, we reach a group of chains that are fastened to the top of the jetty and hang down toward the water. I judge this may be the end of the last diagonal of the first observation, and conclude, therefore, that we must be about 200 meters from the small opening of the jetty. Dr. Paolucci again goes alone to explore the opening. He soon returns with the report that we may advance. We are under way again by about 12:45. When the opening is clearly visible I silence the motor and we proceed hand-over-hand.

#### PASSING AN ENEMY GUN

About 1 A. M.—We have reached the edge of the opening, always sticking close to the jetty, which now slopes down to the opening and is guarded by a small gun, (of about fifty millimeters,) which is silhouetted against the sky as we pass under it at a distance of about five meters.

A strong current coming from the interior of the roadstead meets the current flowing along the coast and drives us—despite all our efforts—out to sea in the direction of the northern extremity of the jetty. The motor is started into full action and we manage to make a wide loop toward the left, returning to the small opening.

Here, too, we find an obstruction



formed by several sections of floating beams, joined with wire ropes. Here and there points project above the water. Having satisfied ourselves that the obstruction has no submerged nets, we decide to climb over it while passing our apparatus underneath, and the plan is carried out without accident. We follow the inner side of this obstruction back to the jetty—easily recognized by the cannon and sentry-post which we had already seen from the other side. Still creeping along the jetty for a few meters, we find ourselves near the bow of a tug, moored there, and can hear the hissing noise of a jet of steam. A little further off, stern toward the jetty, is a large boat that guards the port. This is indicated on our chart, so we decide to turn toward the inner harbor.

About 2 A. M.—We reach the third obstruction, which runs parallel to the jetty, without encountering that running from the jetty on the right of the guard boat to the large opening of the port. The obstruction now to be overcome is made up of a row of metal cylinders, with tops projecting about twenty centimeters above the water, supporting, about sixty centimeters below the water level, a metal cable to which a net is attached. Given the distance between buoys, and the depth at which the net begins, it is easy to pass this barrier. About ten meters behind it is a second, and then a third, all parallel and of the same type. These are passed without real difficulty, though we have lost time between the second and third series. A boat was moored not more than thirty meters from us, and we had to move with extreme caution and very slowly.

It is easy to know where we are. Ahead and to our left, I can recognize Valmaggiore and the rocky mass near the curve toward the interior of the port. We consult the pocket compass, but it is full of water and will not work. Once past the third section of this obstruction, I steer in an oblique line to the right, the direction in which I believe we shall find the last series of obstructions—those projecting from the north coast and running perpendicular to the jetty.

The first big ships—dark, shadowy

forms—are barely visible on our right. Going forward, we can see three other ships, further in, that show lighted cabins and portholes, and that have white deck-lights.

#### APPROACHING THE FLAGSHIP

About 3 A. M.—We reach and pass, without trouble, a triple series of ob-



DR. RAFFAELE PAOLUCCI

structions similar to the preceding ones. Sure of our position, I steer so as to pass between the north coast and the line of big ships, along which we move for about 200 meters, now always fighting against the current.

It is late, and we fear that the air pressure of 120 atmospheres will not be sufficient to insure our return to the chaser. After consultation, we agree to continue as far as the flagship, which had been pointed out to us as of special importance. After sinking this we will endeavor to land on the north coast, sink our apparatus and dispose of our water-proof suits. Then, in the uniform of Italian naval officers, which we wear underneath the water-proof, we will try



to reach a place called Fontane, near Rovigno, where it has been agreed that a motor boat will wait for us each night from the 2d to the 7th of November.

As we move toward the ship I detach a small device that had been added at the last moment. It is supposed to insure an easy mooring for the propelling apparatus, but fails to work. To rid ourselves of this incumbrance I unsheathe my knife, lose the sheath, and am obliged to stick the knife into the wooden cover of the apparatus. (I mention this merely because it will explain why, later, I was so long under the *Viribus Unitis*.)

#### ANXIOUS MOMENTS

At this time an incident occurs that very nearly puts an end to the whole business. We find that, with no apparent cause, our apparatus is gradually, unmistakably, sinking—especially at the stern, where I am. Greatly disturbed, I endeavor to counteract this sinking by crossing my legs beneath the stern, and by accelerating the motor, at the same time working to open the little valve that lets air into the balance tank at the stern. After a hurried examination, I find that the valve for flooding the afterpart is open; how it happened I cannot imagine. The valve is finally closed, and when air is readmitted the apparatus returns to its normal condition. Without doubt these were the most exciting moments of the trip.

We continue slowly and cautiously until 4:30, when we find ourselves at the bow of the *Viribus Unitis*, the last of the six ships that are drawn up in line. At about 100 meters from the ship's bow the motor is stopped, and I move to the head of our apparatus and prepare the first weapon of offense. The time for the explosion must be calculated from 4:30 A. M., and the mine is so regulated that it will go off four hours from that time. This, however, is changed before sinking the mine.

It takes from 4:30 until 4:45 to detach the mine from our propelling apparatus. Meanwhile the current carries us along parallel to the right side of the ship at a distance of sixty meters. We have drifted too far toward the stern, so, by using our arms as in swimming, and by

putting the propeller very gently into action, we succeed in turning our apparatus and in getting back toward the bow of the ship near the lower boom, at a distance of about twenty-five meters from the right side. After another slight change of position toward the rear, on account of the current, I detach the mine, and, swimming, push it before me until it touches the hull.

#### ATTACHING THE MINE

The ship is lighted up and shows all the movement that is usual during the night. Some one speaks on the bridge, (also lighted;) some one is walking the deck. The spot toward which I am swimming is between the second and third of the 150-millimeter guns—counting from the stern—which corresponds roughly to the position of the principal motors. It is a convenient position for the sure sinking of the ship.

On the weapon of offense is a contrivance for fixing the machine to the hull of the ship. It is connected by a small rope that must be loosened or cut. I set to work, but the knot is intricate and my knife is sticking in the wooden cover of the apparatus. Consequently, as the rope is wet and my hands numb with cold, it takes a long time to untie that knot. Finally, after about twenty minutes, the knot yields. I then attach the device to the hull, and also fasten it to a rope that I find secured to the ship at this point. During the operation (it is about 5:15) I hear the morning bugle—it is sounded repeatedly—soon followed by the noise of all hands on board awake and moving. Ashes are thrown out close to me, and more steps sound on the deck. I must hasten and complete the work. I change the clockwork regulating the explosion from 4 to 2; consequently the explosion should take place at 6:30. I detach the bandage of linen and cork that has floated the mine, and sink it. It is now 5:30.

#### DISCOVERED BY THE ENEMY

I swim away from the ship as quickly as possible; the sky is cloudy, but in the east are signs of dawn. It is a question whether I can succeed in reaching our apparatus or whether I must swim



ashore and try to make my way to the point where they will be waiting for us. Happily, on my right I soon see Dr. Paolucci and the apparatus about fifty meters from the ship, and I soon reach them.

Again taking command, I send the apparatus as rapidly as possible toward the bow of the ship, and parallel to it, hoping to get away from her and to gain the north coast as we had planned. The ship's crew is now awake, and they must have discovered us by the excessive natural phosphorescence, which was increased by the more rapid movement of our apparatus. Suddenly a searchlight is operated upon the bridge and the light is thrown on us. We remain breathlessly still for a few moments, hoping against hope that we may not be seen. The light remains stationary on us and we move very slowly, for, although no shot has been fired, we understand that we have been discovered and that a boat will now be sent out to us.

Dr. Paolucci, at the bow, now prepares the second mine, while I open the valves that will sink the apparatus. In this way, while a motor boat is leaving the ship and approaching, we abandon our apparatus which drifts slowly forward—sinking—with the mine that will destroy it. Our mission is ended.

#### CAPTURED BY THE ENEMY

The motor boat reaches us, paying no attention to our apparatus, and they take us on board. It is 5:45. We are recognized as Italians and they take us to the ladder on the port side of the ship. A crowd of sailors receives us at the top of the ladder. We feel it our duty to shout "Viva l'Italia!" This demonstration, contrary to what might be expected, is received in a spirit rather more cordial than hostile. To our surprise we notice the new Yugoslav insignia on the caps. We are asked, in Venetian dialect, how we come to be here. We answer (as Commander Ciano had suggested) that we lighted on the water in a hydroplane which we had afterward sunk. In the meantime they are escorting us aft. The friendly reception and the changed nationality of the fleet cause us to hesitate a bit; we consult and come to a decision,

asking to speak with the Captain on a very important and urgent matter. The Captain is called, and it is 6 o'clock when he receives me in his cabin. I give him Dr. Paolucci's knife, which I find myself still holding, and inform him that his ship is in immediate and very serious danger. The Captain inquires the nature of the "serious danger" and asks if other ships are in the same peril. I answer that I cannot disclose the nature of the danger and that no other ship is involved.

The Captain picks up his lifebelt and leaves the cabin at once, giving loud orders in German that all should leave the ship. We follow him up on deck, where he repeats the order—obeyed, scattering, by all. I ask the Captain to permit Dr. Paolucci and myself to leave the ship. He consents, and we go down the ladder at the right and swim off toward the ship's stern with the current, but impeded by the great weight of our clothing. Numbers of swimming sailors pass us, as well as boats loaded with members of the crew. Searchlight signals are flashed to the nearest ship, Tegethoff, which sends boats to our assistance.

About 6:20 a boat picks us up and takes us back to the ladder on the right of the Viribus Unitis, where a large boat is waiting for the remainder of the crew. When we reach the deck we are received with threats, though the men are not especially violent. I lose sight of Dr. Paolucci in the crowd. It seems that they no longer believe in our warning or in the danger. A sailor begins to rip up my waterproof suit with his knife; others go through my pockets.

#### END OF DOOMED SHIP

There is a short, smothered thunderclap; the ship shivers violently, while a crest of foam is thrown up all along her starboard side. External damage is very slight, but the ship heels over to the right, at first very rapidly, then more slowly, but steadily. Most of the crowd has left us; a few, however, now close in, threatening to shut us up on board. The Captain, who stands a few meters off, shows no interest in our fate. I appeal to him, reminding him that we are







Throughout the expedition we were both calm and controlled, with a perfectly clear perception of details. I noticed that during the eight hours of immersion I felt very well, and, relatively speaking, quite comfortable; much more so than during the long experiments in the Lagoon of Venice that served as training for the undertaking. This excellent physical condition should be attributed, in some part, I believe, to an injection of camphorated oil that Dr. Paolucci thought it well to give me and himself before starting. However, the main cause was the success of the undertaking; to insure that, it was necessary not only to be in good shape physically, but to maintain a spirit of combined serenity and determination.

Before closing this report, it is my pleasant duty to put on record how much I owe to Dr. Paolucci, who behaved splendidly throughout the expedition. I would

stress the importance of the two explorations which he made, alone, under the very eyes of the sentinel guarding the jetty, as well as the period (about forty minutes) when he had to wait for me while I secured the mine to the ship. During this time he had to fight against the current, which was carrying him away. Again and again he returned to, or very near, the spot where I had left the apparatus in his care when I swam with the mine to the Viribus Unitis. Moreover, it was Dr. Paolucci who—under the glare of the searchlight, and while we were in momentary expectation of a charge of shot from the ship's guns—had the ready wit and cool hand to put the apparatus of the second mine into action, removing this menace.

R. ROSSETTI.

*Lieutenant Colonel, Naval Construction.*

Rome, Dec. 4, 1918.

## Why Austria's Peace Efforts Failed

### Count Czernin's Confession

COUNT CZERNIN, former Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, told an Associated Press correspondent in Vienna on Dec. 10, 1918, that in 1917 he had made desperate efforts to get out of the war, even to the extent of offering to Germany the Austro-Hungarian province of Galicia, the richest coal and oil province of the empire, if Germany would agree to surrender Alsace-Lorraine, but the offer was always rejected. General Ludendorff was the chief obstacle to peace and threatened war against Austria-Hungary if the latter attempted a separate settlement. Count Czernin said in part:

In April, 1917, I sent the Emperor Charles a letter, of which I have a copy at your disposal, saying that the submarine warfare was certain to fail, that we could never win, and that we must force Germany to peace. I told him that revolution was coming, that the Emperor William would lose his throne as he also would himself, that every Government head must see that we were the losers,

that we must try to insure, before we were crushed, that Germany's situation should be the same as ours, that only military men believed it possible to win the war, that America's entrance meant our ruin, and that her influence would be felt within a few months in spite of the belief in Germany that America would never be able to arrive in time. I said that there was nothing more dangerous in politics than to see things as you wished them rather than as they are, that there was only one possible way out, namely, by a general peace and arranging matters between England and Germany.

So the Emperor Charles agreed, and we proposed to the Emperor William to give Germany the whole of Austrian Galicia, and to let her have Russian Poland if only she would cede Alsace-Lorraine to France. I went to Kreuznach on the French front and put the matter before Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, but he was obliged to decline. I don't know if Ludendorff had any hand in this, but the Germans answered that it was impossible to give up Alsace-Lorraine because the German people would never understand the giving up of land which had cost so much blood.

Certainly the position in Germany was



dangerous. Our sacrifice was appreciated and our conversations were pleasant and friendly. When I saw we could not arrange things because Germany was obliged to obey the military party I tried another way. I sent to Berlin, unknown to the Germans, the Austrian Socialist Member of Parliament, Wassilko, who had a talk with Erzberger (Clerical) and Sudekum, (Socialist,) at which he told them why the war must be brought to an end. Both understood and took action in the Reichstag, where they submitted peace resolutions directed against the military party and also against Pan-Germanists. But the German victories began again and the Reichstag did nothing. It was always so. When our chances were very bad the Entente was elated and when ours were good Ludendorff refused to allow peace. I always wanted to use victory as an opportunity to make peace, and several times I had the impression that this would be possible to arrange.

Once I sent Count Mensdorff to Switzerland, but never was it precisely said on what conditions Germany might be willing to make peace, nor do I recall that Mr. Lloyd George last February named any conditions. Germany always assured us that she had never received any definite offers, and I believe this is true. England appeared to have the intention of crushing Germany, with Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Ludendorff always maintaining the same attitude, and Wilson only differing from the rest, while the Emperor William could not bring himself to give up Alsace-Lorraine. My impression is that neither the Emperor Joseph, Count Berchtold, nor the German Emperor wanted war. Anyway, we tried to get out of it in every way except by war with Germany, which would have meant the end of our empire.

Regarding the Brest-Litovsk Treaty Count Czernin said: "I signed it, but we took nothing from it, a fact which is worthy of mention. It was Ludendorff who forced Kühlmann to that peace, always Ludendorff."

#### GERMANY'S SINISTER PEACE OFFER IN 1914

Revelations made at the Cavallini trial in Rome as to Germany's efforts in November, 1914, through her agent, Lorenzo d'Adda, to induce France to agree to a separate peace, called forth this statement from Take Jonsescu, the former Rumanian Premier, on Dec. 4, 1918:

The facts which have come out in the Cavallini trial relating to Germany's ef-

forts to make a separate peace with France in November, 1914, recall to me an even earlier attempt toward the same end. We had in Rumania an old German professor, a former railway official, who held a Chair at our School of Civil Engineering. He had married a Rumanian lady, and had lived so long in the country that I thought he was naturalized, which was not the case.

When war broke out Professor Shlawe, as he was called, was in Berlin. Ten days after the war began I received long telegrams from him, sometimes two and three times a day, and often running into several hundred words, giving me news of the progress of events, and especially laying stress on the certainty of a German victory. As other Rumanians received similar dispatches from the same man it was evident that the cost of such a telegraphic debauch could not be paid for by Shlawe himself. I was annoyed, because at that time I believed him to be a Rumanian subject.

In September, 1914, after the fall of Antwerp, and the first battle of the Marne, Shlawe, to my astonishment, came straight from Bucharest to see me at Sinaia. He was in such a hurry to see me that he did not stop even to brush off the dust which had covered his clothes during the automobile journey from Bucharest.

Before he could open the conversation I began to reproach him for sending telegrams so unworthy of a Rumanian subject. (At that time pro-German Rumanians had not made their appearance.) Shlawe replied that he had never become naturalized, and pleaded that he was only doing his duty and serving his country. Then, in a voice which trembled owing to the manner in which I had spoken to him, he made a most astonishing proposal to me. He asserted that he came on behalf of Herr Zimmermann to ask me to fulfill the finest rôle a man could wish. He explained that both Herr Zimmermann and himself knew that I was unshakably opposed to Germany, and that they believed that this was due to my love for France. He proposed therefore, he said, to offer me an opportunity to serve both France and Rumania, and asked me formally if I was prepared to go to Paris on behalf of Germany and offer the French Government a separate peace, in which Germany would ask France for absolutely nothing. Germany, he pointed out, would then find herself faced by Russia and England alone, and would be able to overcome England, which was the sole object Germany aimed at. As to France, Shlawe added, Germany was animated with nothing but feelings of admiration and friendship for her, and he pointed out with many flattering statements that nobody but a sincere friend of



France like myself could hope with any chance of success to undertake the mission he offered me. As you may imagine, I gave Shlawe the reply he deserved. I told

him that France was incapable of betraying her allies, and that I was neither such an imbecile nor such a scoundrel as to accept such a mission.

## Mobilizing the British Army in 1914

Address by Viscount Haldane

*The circumstances leading up to the reorganization of the British Army between 1906 and 1914 with a view to readiness in assisting France in event of attack by Germany were set forth by Viscount Haldane on Nov. 29, 1918, when he presided at a lecture on "America and the War," delivered at the Bedford College for Women by Major R. M. Johnstone. Lord Haldane said:*

OUR effort, unlike that of America, which was fashioned quickly and decisively for its present purpose, because you can do things in war you cannot do in peace—our effort began in peace time and it was made under the influence of very fine military brains. I speak with knowledge because it fell to me as War Minister to assemble the young Generals with whose assistance the Expeditionary Force and the Territorial Force were fashioned. In the great speech which Sir Edward Grey made in the House of Commons on Aug. 3, 1914, which practically announced the determination to go to war, the then Foreign Minister told us how he had been approached by the French Government in January, 1906, and how it was conveyed to him that there was some apprehension of an attack from Germany which might menace British interests. What the French Government said in effect was: "We don't ask you to bind yourselves; you must be free. We don't ask anything unreasonable, but if you consider there is a possibility of your being called on in your own interests to come to our assistance and prevent the invasion of the northern part of France by Germany, then it is wise for your military authorities and ours to have conversations, without binding yourselves in any way, with a view to seeing what sort of military assistance you can give."

The policy of counterstrategy to German strategy was thought out, and under Mr. McKenna and Mr. Churchill the estimates were raised from £35,000,000

in 1906 to £51,000,000 in 1914. At the outbreak of war our fleet was in a state of efficiency such as it was never in before, and was not only more efficient but was equal to two to one against the whole German fleet. In the second place, the French pointed out: "You have a great fleet and we have a great army; our fleet is small, yours is large; our army is large, yours is small." They knew we could not have a large army—because we could not raise a great compulsory army in peace time unless we had about thirty years to do it in. To have attempted to change the system, to swap horses when crossing the stream, would have been foolish. But we set to work to do what had to be done. It was not for home defense. We were perfectly defended at home by the fleet and the territorial forces.

The French thought at that time that if we could contribute 100,000 men within fifteen days from the outbreak of war that would be enough to enable them; with their great fortifications and with our reorganized army on their left, to hold the Germans if they tried to break through Belgium. But when we came to look into things we found that all we could concentrate was 80,000 men, and then not under two months and a half. The French said: "We should be dead before that." This country, therefore, set itself out to effect a revolution. That revolution was made under Sir Douglas Haig and a number of other officers who have since distinguished themselves in the war, and some others who have passed away, all of whom worked night



and day for the purpose of putting our army for the first time in its history on a war footing in peace time, so that it might be mobilized with the utmost rapidity.

In the end we were able to increase the French estimate by giving them not 100,000 men but 160,000, not in fifteen days but twelve days. I do not think the public knew when we mobilized our army but I will tell you now: We mobilized at 11 o'clock on the morning of Monday, Aug. 3, thirty-six hours before we de-

clared war. Mobilization is not a declaration of war. If desired, you can mobilize in time of peace in order to be prepared for war. Within a few hours after the declaration of war the expeditionary force, with the aid of the navy, was across the Channel before anybody knew it. Indeed, the first detachment was over within nine days, instead of twelve. That was one of the results of putting a definite question as to what purpose the British Army was needed for, and working out the answer.

## The French Withdrawal at Briey

THE French Government on July 30, 1914, upon learning that German troops were moving toward the French frontier, ordered its own troops to retire ten kilometers from the boundary, so as to establish proof of its desire for peace. This fact was stated in the French Chamber of Deputies on Jan. 31, 1919, by René Viviani, the former Premier. "On the same day," he said, "I requested Paul Cambon (French Ambassador at London) by wire to inform Sir Edward Grey of the measures taken. 'England,' I said, 'will realize that, if France is firm, it is not she who is taking measures of aggression. Although Germany has moved her troops upon her battleline the Government of the French Republic intends to demonstrate that France, as well as Russia, bears no responsibility for the attack.'" M. Viviani continued:

"Could we risk a murderous war upon a chance meeting of patrols? We desired to proclaim high before the world that, if France were forced to fight, she would do so for right and justice, and not take advantage of an equivocation. The withdrawal was carried out without meeting any obstacle, either technical or military. Had we met with an observation from General Joffre that the measure might endanger the fate of the country, we should not have hesitated, but would have kept the watch on the frontier. No objection came from the General."

M. Viviani's speech was made in re-

ply to questions by Deputy Fernand Engerand, who sharply criticised the abandonment of the ten-kilometer zone. He asserted that it was a technical mistake, because the mineral valley of Briey was within range of the French guns, and had it been bombarded intensively for three or four days the German iron ore deposits and factories would have been destroyed and Germany placed in an inferior position regarding minerals. This, the Deputy thought, would have brought about an end of the war in six months.

M. Viviani replied that the abandonment of the Briey Valley in the event of war had been decided upon by the General Staff in January, 1914. A withdrawal to a depth of twenty-five kilometers was first considered, said M. Viviani, who then read a telegram from General Joffre, dated July 30, reading as follows:

For diplomatic reasons it is indispensable that no incident occur at the frontier. No unit and no patrol shall advance east of the line fixed.

M. Viviani then read a message from Adolphe Messimy, the Minister of War at that time, as follows:

In order to assure English collaboration, it is indispensable that French troops do not cross the general line decided upon, unless a regular attack is made upon them.

General Joffre, learning that seventeen violations of the French frontier had been committed, telegraphed to Premier Viviani on Aug. 2 as follows:

The interdiction against crossing the



line indicated is lifted, but, for national reasons of a diplomatic and moral order, it is indispensable to leave to the Germans the entire responsibility for hostilities. Consequently our troops will merely hold the enemy back and throw him upon the frontier, without pursuing him beyond.

M. Viviani continued:

"Then war was declared. The President of the republic wrote a letter to King George, which was published in the press at that time, but the reply of the King has remained unpublished until now. It reads: 'I admire the limitation which France willingly imposed upon herself and which so vitally concerns her military defense.'"

General Adolphe Messimy, the French Minister of War in 1914, stated in an article in the *Matin* of Feb. 3, 1919, that it was to establish proof of the love of France for peace, and not to please the Socialists, that the Government had decided to establish a safety zone of ten kilometers. The French intelligence

service, he declared, absolutely knew that Germany was mobilizing secretly, but was endeavoring to make France appear as the aggressor, as in the case of the forged telegram of Ems in 1870.

"The mere wandering of one of our patrols across the frontier at night," he said, "would have given her the excuse she sought. In order to avoid falling into a trap I proposed a wholesale withdrawal ten kilometers behind the frontier. At that time the intervention of England on our side was anything but certain, and the neutrality of Italy, which was bound in a defensive alliance with Austria and Germany, depended upon who was the aggressor.

"A few hours after our troops withdrew England assured us she would help us, as Austria and Germany were the aggressors. Italy undertook to remain neutral and ten months later became our faithful ally. The nations of Europe and America have since, at their own time, fulfilled our expectations and our hopes."

## Marshal Foch on the Armistice

The allied Commander in Chief, Marshal Foch, in response to inquiry as to whether the armistice had not been accorded the Germans too soon, said that it was not possible to have done otherwise, because the Germans had agreed at once to all terms laid down and had satisfied all conditions. The Marshal said:

"It was difficult to ask more. Doubtless, any General would have preferred to continue the struggle and give battle when battle offered itself so promisingly, but a father of a family could not fail to think of the blood that would be shed. A victory, however easy, costs the lives of men. We held victory in our grasp without any further sacrifice. We took it as it came. The German High Command was not ignorant of the fact that it faced colossal disaster. When it surrendered, everything was prepared for an offensive in which it would infallibly have succumbed. On Nov. 14 we were to attack in Lorraine with twenty French divisions and six American divisions. This attack would have been supported by other movements in Flanders and in the centre. The Germans were lost. They capitulated. There is the whole story."





# Wanton Destruction of French Factories

## Details of Germany's Systematic Crippling of Rival Industries in the Invaded Territory

*This revelation of German methods and purposes in the destruction of rival factories was written by a correspondent of The London Morning Post, who visited the whole devastated region of France at the beginning of December, 1918.*

**T**HERE is a new desert in Europe—a Sahara more lonely and more terrible than the deserts of nature. It stretches in a belt more than 500 miles in length and of varying width from the North Sea to the Vosges: it is the country of the Western front—the lands from which the tide of German barbarism has receded, and left a wilderness which is as it were sown with salt, a country ruined as by long submersion under the sea. I have been through part of it: if it was awful in war it is even more awful in peace. It has no inhabitants—save occasional garrisons of soldiers, gangs of prisoners working on the roads, and a few returning peasants. You may travel in it for miles without seeing man or beast. The fields are without cattle; the towns and villages without people. Magpies, crows, and rats seem to be the only creatures that have survived the war in any numbers. Throughout larger stretches of country and in considerable towns I could see no other life. And to those who have memories of this country before the war the contrast between now and then adds tenfold to the desolation. For this was once among the busiest, the richest, the happiest, the most pleasant, and beautiful countries in Europe.

There is no doubt at all that the Germans made war not only upon the French armies but upon French industries, upon the very civilization of France. They did not only seek to destroy the organized defenses of France, but her means of livelihood. Germany conceives war not merely as a fight between armies but between economic systems. In peace she had tried first to imitate and then to supersede the older and finer industrial system of her neighbor. She had unscrupulously copied French fabrics

and patterns; but the plodding mechanic can never overtake the genius of the artist. The French found always a new surprise for the German imitator, and when war broke out France had still a flourishing and enterprising industrial system along her Northern and Eastern borders. It was this system which Germany set out deliberately to carry away, and, where she could not steal, destroy.

It is a remarkable fact that, although Germany and France have always been enemies, both countries have established their industries chiefly along their borders, where they are most likely to be attacked. The truth is that the situation of an industrial system is fixed not usually with any strategic design, but by economic necessities—access to raw materials, the presence of coal and iron, the convergence of roads, the navigability of rivers—such are the ruling factors in industrial geography.

It is true that France was not altogether happy about the situation of her industries, and tried in some measure to reinsure herself. Thus, for example, Bourges, the Woolwich of France, was deliberately placed south of the Loire because of the bitter experiences of the war of 1870, when France found her war industries surprised and overtaken by the invading Prussians. Creusot also was placed beyond the reach of invasion, and in the course of the present war a new industrial system has sprung up in the south to supply the place of the north.

### SAVAGE AND BRUTAL WORK

But the fact remains that when war broke out the industries of France were very largely in that broad belt of country which has suffered most from invasion. In the dozen or so departments which were overrun existed the greater part of



the coal, the cotton, the woolen, the glass, and the sugar industries of France. The France of 1912 had a total steam machinery of 3,325,000 horse power. Of this no less than 1,250,184 horse power was situated in the invaded regions, so that upon this calculation the Germans have destroyed—that is to say, either put out of working or carried away—over one-third of the total industrial steam power of France.

The mines of Anzin and Lens, the linen of Roubaix, Tourcoing, and Sedan; the linen and cotton thread of Lille, the cottons and woolens of St. Quentin, the steel and iron, the metals and engineering of Fives and Isbergue, of Briey, of Maubeuge, of Douai, of Denain; the glass of St. Gobain, Anzin, and Aniche; the woolens and wines of Rheims, the sugar of hundreds of factories throughout the devastated beet-sugar country of the north—these and many other industries were not merely mechanical and material things, but the very centres and cores of busy, useful, and intelligent communities, who by their loss are now reduced to helplessness and beggary.

How small and petty seem the quarrels of capital and labor in face of this common interest which both have in the industry by which they exist. By it they live; if it fails they can no longer live. And this was part of Germany's tremendous crime against France—that she aimed and struck her blow not at the armed forces of France only, nor even against a single generation, but against the future and the very means by which the people of France found their livelihood. The capital loss of such a destruction might be widely computed, but who shall estimate the loss in terms of usefulness to the world, of happy, industrious life, of skill in industry and service to civilization, destroyed by this act of savage and brutal envy?

#### DESERT AROUND LILLE

You approach Lille, as you approach Bagdad—through the desert. This desert, if you go from Calais or Boulogne, begins about Hazebrouck, and increases to the abomination of desolation around what was Armentières. You look out from the train upon a land in which

there is neither man nor beast nor any living thing. You may trace waves of intensity in the destruction, as you approach a line of defense, until you reach the crest of a No Man's Land. There are several of these waves of battle, and at their height there is hardly a piece of level ground in this once the most level of countries. Silhouettes of fantastic ruins and broken trees break the skyline of this vast wilderness. You may still trace the hedges and ditches which divided the fields, but of any other vestige of agriculture there is none left. A French lady returning to Lille looked out with me upon this melancholy scene. I asked her what grew there before the war. "Wheat," she replied. When will it grow wheat again?

Upon the further edge of this desert is Lille—itsself a desert of another kind. Before the war Lille and its neighboring cities of Roubaix and Tourcoing were the Manchester and Bradford of France. They had a population, taken together, of close on half a million people, and they lived and thrived by world-famous industries. Here the original "Lisle thread" was manufactured, and woolens, cottons, and linens, machinery and chemicals. All these industries worked together; the bleachers and dyers depended on the chemical works; the spinners and carders of cotton and wool passed their product on to the weavers, and all depended upon the coal of Lens for the power which worked their beautiful and intricate machinery. This machinery they either made themselves or imported—the cotton machinery chiefly from England, the woolen largely from Alsace. Such, in brief, was the industrial system upon which those vast, busy, and enterprising cities lived and thrived.

#### THE SILENT MILLS

You leave the railway outside Lille for the excellent reason that the railway bridges around Lille have been destroyed, and enter by roads deep in the all-permeating black mud. The city—except for patches of destruction here and there—has a fallacious appearance of being intact. You begin by thinking that the Germans were kind to Lille. The Mairie has been burned down; but in the main



the streets and houses and factories are there much as they were. Yet it is a city almost dead, a city in which such people as remain live, and must continue to live for many a day, upon charity or such credit as they still possess. It is a city without industries or the means of industry, without transport—I had almost said without horses, but when the Germans went there were five or six horses left in Lille. They had been taken by their owners up three flights of stairs and had their stables in an attic.

The mills of Lille, as I need not say, are silent. They are silent not only because they lack coal and raw material and workers, but for other causes which must keep some of them silent forever and others silent for years to come. The general plan of the invaders was to take from these cities as much money, as much labor, as much material, and as much machinery as they required, and to use the cities themselves as billets for their troops. But beneath this general plan was a darker and deeper design—nothing less than the destruction of industrial France.

#### DESTRUCTION OF MACHINERY

They collected the material by "perquisitions" and "requisitions." "Convey" the wise call it. They began by taking all the stocks of raw materials and finished articles in the mills and storehouses of the three cities. They then went over the mills for their leather belting and brass and copper fittings, and such looms and machinery as they wanted in Germany. As every manufacturer knows, the life of a mill is its belting. The belts transmit the power from engine to machine. They are to the factory what tendons are to the limbs. When they are cut the whole frame is helpless. Again, it is obvious that a German with a hammer, stripping an intricate machine of its brass or copper, is apt to do a considerable amount of damage. The Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Tourcoing gave me some interesting details upon this branch of my inquiry. From the industrial factories of Tourcoing the Germans took over 1,000,000 kilos of copper and brass. This metal, reckoning in prices before the war, varied

from 2 to 200 francs per kilo, according to the article. For example, in a spinning machine the spindle, which is of steel, runs in a cup or bearing of brass. From 400 spindles the Germans got 6 kilos of brass. Reckoning at prices before the war, this brass was worth 18 francs, and the 400 spindles in working order were worth 8,000 francs. Thus they destroyed or dismantled material worth 8,000 francs to get 18 francs' worth of metal.

The damage done varied according to the industry and also according to chance. Many factories have been gutted from floor to ceiling; others have escaped with the loss of their belting, their copper fittings, and their dynamos. Certain industries in which the French competed with the Germans have been wiped out.

#### STEALING THE LOOMS

Take, for example, the linen industry, for which before the war Lille was famous the world over. She was the proud possessor of nine-tenths of the linen industry of France, or one-sixth of the linen industry of the whole world. She bought her flax mainly from Belgium and Russia, where the Germans were also buyers, and made of it linen which the Germans could not rival.

When Lille was in the grip of the Germans there arrived a certain Herr Rover, an expert in linen, whom the linen magnates of Lille knew slightly as an occasional visitor before the war. Herr Rover picked out the looms with the assured knowledge of a specialist, and they were packed up and sent to Germany. Before he and his friends had finished with those once wonderful and glorious linen factories of Lille there was nothing left but the bare walls. Lille must start her linen factories from the ground upward, and while they are rebuilding they may be forced—for this was the German plan—either to buy German linen made on their own stolen looms—or go without.

The cotton industry has not suffered so much as the linen industry; but it also has suffered terribly. The woolen industry of Tourcoing and Roubaix has been cruelly despoiled of its looms.

It appears—or so I was told by one of



the manufacturers—that an order came from Berlin to remove or destroy all the looms of the three cities. This terrible order so shocked a German officer, who was himself in the weaving industry, that he went from Lille to Berlin to remonstrate. He was received coldly and told that the order had been given and must be carried out. The work was begun. Many looms were removed—I saw myself the foundations from which they had been wrenched.

The northern corner of France does not grow wine, and Lille was a centre of the brewing trade. The Germans evidently intended to make a market for their lager after the war, and in the breweries there was the double incentive that they contained worms, pans, and cooling machinery of copper and brass. All these were stripped clean—save what the brewers contrived to hide. In sugar also France competed with Germany, and the sugar refineries were dismantled of their machinery.

All these industries depend in some measure upon chemistry and engineering. These are basic industries of Lille, and upon these industries the Germans fastened. It was their economic strategy. If they destroyed the basic industries of France the secondary industries would be helpless. They therefore set to work with system and thoroughness. There was, for example, the great chemical industry founded and conducted by the Kuhlmann family. The Germans had a special hatred for M. Kuhlmann for the reason that he was an Alsatian who left Alsace after the war of 1870 and remained a Frenchman. For the stripping of the Madeleine factory—which covers twenty-five hectares of ground—an expert in machinery removal named Haas was specially sent from Germany. Of that enormous place nothing now remains but the bare walls of the buildings.

#### SACKING FIVES-LILLE

Upon the eastern side of Lille, outside the walls and beyond the railway, is the industrial suburb of Fives, famous before the war as the seat of the Compagnie Fives-Lille. This company was one of the chief concerns in the heavy engineering industry of France. It employed

5,000 workmen, not counting clerks, and built locomotives, bridges, turntables, girders, machine tools, sugar machinery, turbines, &c. It was, in fact, one of the great industrial concerns not only of France but of the world.

But the boche has been to Fives and there is no longer this great industry; there is only a ruin. This ruin is not the least of the wonders of the war. Let me try to describe it.

To begin with, it must be said that it is the work of the boche and the boche alone, and that its ruin had nothing to do with what are called military operations. The boche was in possession and worked his sweet will upon Fives-Lille, undisturbed for four years save for an occasional stray shot from an allied airplane. The ruin, therefore, may be taken as a pure example of economic war as it is understood in Germany.

#### THE ART OF DESTRUCTION

The first sight which met our eyes as we entered the gates was a ruinous gable of brick rising to an imposing height and pierced by three gates of such generous dimensions as to admit the passage of the largest locomotives, the middle one being double the size of the others. As it stood entirely by itself, with nothing behind it, it had the appearance of a sort of industrial Arc de Triomphe partly damaged by dynamite. M. Kariatakis, the Chef du Matériel, who took me over the place, explained that behind this gable there once stood a great workshop 160 yards in length and more than 30 yards in width. This shed, large enough for all the varied processes of locomotive building, had been constructed of steel, and the Germans had taken it down piece by piece, packing it in railway cars, and sent it to Germany. The front, being of brick, was of no use to them, and had been damaged, not by dynamite, but by the wrenching away of the steel girders which rested upon it.

In this way they had stolen no less than nine of the company's newest and best steel-construction workshops, three of them of the largest size.

They took away, as unconsidered trifles, 750 electric motors of the latest type. There was one little gas engine



left, the only motor now in Fives-Lille. I asked how the Germans had contrived to forget it. M. Kariatakis explained that the German Government had been negotiating for its sale to a German manufacturer. There was a good deal of haggling over the bargain, and the negotiations were so protracted that when the sale was at last complete there was no time to take the motor away.

Besides these 750 motors, the Germans took away 1,750 machine tools of all kinds. The sheds, therefore, which are left are empty in the main. But there were some machines which were too large and heavy for German transport, and these had to be left. They were left, but they were not left in situ. The German is ingenious in destruction. His method in this case was to attach a heavy piece of steel to a traveling crane. The piece of steel was then brought to bear on the machinery to be destroyed, and swung like a battering-ram. Thus some of the finest and largest machines in the works were broken in fragments. And the parts that could not be broken thus were wrenched from their foundations by the use of these same traveling cranes, raised to a great height and then thrown down on the cement floor.

In this manner the Germans either took away or destroyed every motor, engine, lathe, and machine tool in the works of the Fives-Lille Company. In one of the remaining workshops the floor, which is of cement, is torn up in the most extraordinary way, as by a series of small explosions. M. Kariatakis explained that the hall had contained several very large steel tables, on which were traced the designs of bridges and other large pieces of construction work. These tables were wrenched from their cement foundations by means of the traveling crane and taken away bodily.

As to the amount of the damage done, I was told that in tools and machinery alone, and reckoning at pre-war prices, the value amounted to 40,000,000 francs. The damage to the workshops had not yet been estimated, but of glass alone there were 18,000 square meters to be replaced.

The Germans did not take everything. In one of the small sheds I saw a pa-

thetic little group of workmen cleaning and arranging a strange assortment of rusty gauges, dies, spanners, and small tools of all sorts. As they cleaned them one by one they put them back carefully into racks along the walls. M. Kariatakis explained that he had contrived to hide these oldments under heaps of old iron and other rubbish in the yards. Almost at the end of their occupation the Germans decided to carry away these heaps of old iron, and this precious little hoard of gauges and tools was upon the point of being discovered.

The approach of the King of the Belgians on the north forced the Germans to leave the old iron untouched, and thus was saved the remnant of the old, and, we may hope, the nucleus of the new Fives-Lille.

#### A GIGANTIC CRIME

When the Germans had negotiated the sale of a machine, and were about to dismount it, they invariably demanded a set of the drawings to go with it to Germany. M. Kariatakis no less invariably refused, and burned the drawings rather than allow them to fall into the hands of the enemy. But some of these invaluable plans and drawings survive. They were hidden away in the cellars of the fine new building which the company had built partly for its offices and partly as an institute for its workpeople. This building was spared by the German, whether out of respect for social utility or because he did not think it worth destroying did not appear.

To look upon the ruins of Fives-Lille, it is difficult to imagine that these shattered halls and empty spaces were once the busy home of a great engineering industry. M. Kariatakis showed me photographs of the works as they were before the war. Here was an empty void where once had stood a bench eighty meters long, with batteries of machines for handling and piercing steel beams, which were passed along from end to end. There stood wonderful pneumatic and hydraulic steel planing and chiseling machines. There long rows of lathes. That great hall once glowed with the white heat of molten steel as it was poured from great pots and caldrons into molds cunningly shaped in black



sand. Here skilled workmen handled a great masterpiece of the company's construction—a turning bridge for Cairo, weighing 1,200 tons. Here 5,000 engineers and laborers applied engineering science to the service of the whole world, where now a few half-starved, decrepit workmen scrape among the old iron for the hand implements of their industry.

The ruin of Fives-Lille was a gigantic crime, inspired not by military necessity but by greed and by German envy of the mechanical genius of France. The sheds and machinery of Fives-Lille, like those of hundreds of other French factories, have been by this time set up—and are probably now at work—in Westphalia or some other part of industrial Germany. The intention of Germany is to use them as the engines of an economic war, no less ruthless than the military war, against the future of the industries of France.

#### UNENDING REQUISITIONS

The Germans did not seek to destroy Lille as a city; what they did was to destroy its key industries and to wring it like a wet cloth until they had squeezed the last franc, the last kilo of wool, of cotton and copper out of its wretched inhabitants.

Their system of exactions and requisitions was well calculated to break the spirit as well as the purse of this great, ancient, and rich city. Half of the population of Lille have been in prison. The Germans organized a system of spies and denunciations which encircled the inhabitants like a net. One well-known citizen told me that he had a collection of over 200 posters, all threatening the people with severe penalties, up to a fine of 30,000 francs or a long term of imprisonment, if they did not declare something or other. Independently of the requisitions, gangs of from fifteen to twenty men went from house to house searching for hidden goods. Once he had a mason in to make an alteration in his cellars. The Germans came to know of it at once, and his house was immediately visited and searched.

The requisitions were unending; when the Germans had picked the city clean in the name of the Military Governor of

Lille, they started all over again in the name of the Military Governor of Valenciennes.

James Walker, the British Consul at Lille, was deported to Germany. I have since met Mr. Walker in Paris; he is 58 years of age, and his health has been completely broken by the treatment he received. He told me that he was taken away from Lille on Nov. 17, 1914. His fellow Consuls protested, and the American Consul suggested to von Gaevernitz that he was taking upon himself a very heavy responsibility. "The Master covers all," von Gaevernitz replied.

Mr. Walker was first taken to Giesseli, in Hesse, where his hair was cropped close, and he was set to work to clean the windows and sweep the yard. He was also drilled in the military salute so that he might minister to the pride of the German officers. He was then taken to Wittenberg, where he saw Sir Roger Casement and some Irish priests from Rome vainly trying to induce the Irish prisoners to enlist against England. From there he went to Ruhleben and was ultimately exchanged, but not before the cold, the wet, and the hardships of his prison life had destroyed his health.

#### REMOVING WHOLE FACTORIES

Mr. Walker was one of the principal manufacturers of Lille. The family factory on the Rue Montebello is a great building covering 10,000 square meters, where he and his brother carried on the business of machinery manufacture founded by his father. They specialized in machinery for the treatment of flax, jute, and hemp, and although they had competitors in Belfast and in England, they had almost a monopoly on the Continent, for in this branch of engineering British are supreme. No doubt this monopoly had long been the envy of the Germans, and soon after the German occupation the factory was visited by a German, whom they recognized as an old customer. The mission of this German was to transport the machinery of the Walker mill to Germany—and this was done so thoroughly that there is now not a scrap remaining. All that is left of the factory are the bare walls. Be-



fore the war the industry employed 700 men, and Mr. Walker estimates the damages at \$1,400,000.

Another important British concern, the mills of the Fine Cotton Spinners' Association of Fives, running no less than 150,000 spindles, has been treated in much the same fashion. Two of their three large and modern mills were completely wrecked by order of the German military authorities, some of the British prisoners of war being forced against their will to help in breaking down the machines with large hammers. The third mill was only partially destroyed, probably through lack of time; but Mr. Forest, the manager, was sent into Germany.

I might mention also the important soap works at Haubourdin, near Lille, where the Germans took out every piece of machinery and transported it bodily to the branch of the factory at Mannheim—which they had confiscated and reconstituted as a German concern. All that was left of a plant valued at from \$450,000 to \$500,000 were three boilers, one broken ventilator, and an old cistern.

So with most, if not all, of the British concerns in Lille. Mr. Snowden's big jute mill on the Rue Montebello has been entirely gutted, the machinery which was not taken away being smashed. The German hatred of the English did not stop short at their businesses, but pursued them to their homes. They destroyed a factory belonging to W. H. Young in Lombiersart, and when Mr. Young died, probably of a broken heart, they looted his house and sent off his widow to Belgium. David Ritchie, a thread merchant of over 50 years of age, was forced to work as a prisoner behind the German lines. Mr. MacLaughlan's house in the Boulevard Tourcoing was reduced to ruins. I might multiply instances.

#### ROBBERY AT TOURCOING

The first factory I visited in Tourcoing belonged to a M. Robbé, who was a wool-spinner, and had 6,000 spindles. Some of the machines were mere masses of broken and rusting metal; the spindles of others were lying in heaps upon the floor. It seemed to me that little or nothing could be done with such machinery as remained. German soldiers had

been in occupation, and had wrenched the wood from the floors for their fires, so that in some of the rooms the framework of the machines rested on the naked rafters.

The caretaker, a pathetic figure in his blue blouse, wept as he showed us the damage they had done. The carding machines had possessed rollers of wood, and these rollers the soldiers had hacked to pieces for their fires. For thirty kilos of wood they had destroyed a machine worth thousands of francs. He had offered to carry in wood for them if they would only leave his beloved machines. For answer they had thrown him through the door into the yard. He told us his story piecemeal as we went from room to room of his factory. He had had four sons; three of them had been killed in the war; the fourth, a cripple, was cleaning up the yard. How was he crippled? The boche had tried to force him to work. The boy had tried to hide, and had crawled under a car on a little tramway line near by. His pursuers had deliberately drawn the car over his foot, and broken it. *Les sales boches!*

Such was the state of M. Robbé's factories that they will have to be renewed from floor—in some cases there are no floors left—to ceiling. And he had lost, besides, half a million kilos of wool which the Germans had taken from his store-houses.

#### SOME TYPICAL CASES

But to return. On the road between Tourcoing and Roubaix, overlooking the ruined locks of a large canal, stood a handsome factory with an English name on it—the name of Richardson. I thought I ought to see if Mr. Richardson had been given preferential treatment. It was a large place, which had employed 500 hands. It made draperies and stuffs for covering furniture, and treated wool and cotton from thread to cloth. The caretaker took us over the place. He showed us where the dynamos had been; they had all been taken away; all the belting and electric fixtures were gone; the leather had been stripped from the rollers of the carding machines; four carding machines, eight looms, two “ef-



filancheuses," and one "mélangeur" had been carried off to Germany, and all spare parts had been taken with them; from the washing machines all the copper had been taken, and he showed me the empty brick socket of an enormous copper vat that must have made bands for many a German shell. The Germans, being short of brushes, had stripped the brushing machines. As in the brewery, there were holes in the brick floor where the Germans had searched for hidden parts.

I also looked in upon a bleachery in Tourcoing. The owner told me he had lost, besides 45,000 kilos of copper and all belting, 100,000 kilos of iron machinery. The machines and parts had been wrenched from their places in the most brutal fashion. The whole interior was, in fact, almost a ruin. He told me that one of the many returns sent out by the Germans invited him to say how the requisitions had been made. Some of his neighbors had not dared to tell the truth, but he had not minced matters. He had received, in consequence, a visit from a German official, who had been compelled to admit by the evidence of his senses that the return was true.

This list of inquisitions begins to become wearisome. Let me end them with only one more, the cotton mills, the Motté Bossut cotton mills of Roubaix, a considerable factory of 50,000 spindles, which had employed 700 hands. The Germans had taken a 600 horse power dynamo, and had thrown all its complementary machinery down into the pit below. One great hall on the ground floor they had been forced to clear of all its looms "within 24 hours" in order to make room for a German garage. They had succeeded in doing it, and had stored and saved the looms.

#### SAVING THE SPINDLES

But while all this had happened on the ground floor the owners had contrived to save the spinning machinery above. They told us with justifiable pride something of how they had done it. They had contrived even to save the brass bearings of their spindles, and they had kept all these 50,000 spindles not only clean but lubricated during four years. How did they get the lubricating oil? The Ger-

mans were accustomed to send around requisitions for oil at frequent intervals and even took the oil out of the lubricating chambers, but the management had a secret store of several barrels with which they replenished their machinery. Besides the requisition parties, marauding bands of German soldiers used to rove around the factories in search of hidden belting and copper, and a watch had to be kept day and night. Once at least a band of these thieves was prevented from entering by the sturdy night watchman. The windows were covered with paper to prevent and chance of observation, and the management worked stealthily at this vital task of cleaning and oiling their carding and spinning machines.

It was no small thing to have done, I thought, as I looked over the two great halls full of beautiful machinery, all shining and spotless and covered with sheets of cotton. They had saved not only their machinery, they had helped to save their workmen and their town from universal ruin.

They told me that they had also saved their looms at their weaving factory at Lers. The Germans had requisitioned the factory to make sacks and had taken away 30,000 pieces from their storehouse. They had also taken their dynamos, their shafting, their belts, and their copper, but the looms remain. Orders had actually come for the looms to be taken away, but they were not taken—probably for want of time.

#### THE SUMMING UP

Let me now sum up the injuries done to the industries of Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing as far as I was able to judge from observation and reliable witnesses:

The chemical industry—The Kuhlmann factories were three in number, employing 1,200 men in all. Their buildings and machinery were worth about 25,000,000 francs, their raw material 15,000,000.

All the raw material was taken, and of the three factories, the Madeleine—covering twenty-five hectares of ground—the most important, was utterly destroyed.

The Loos factory was destined for de-



struction and 100 mines were planted all over it; but in the hurry of evacuation they were not exploded.

In the Wattrelos factory, all lead, copper, brass, and a good deal of wood were taken away. The place was set on fire when the Germans left, but the fire was put out before the building was entirely destroyed. I might add that the company's factory near Ghent has been burned.

The other chemical, soap, and bleaching works round Lille have been mostly destroyed.

Heavy engineering and machinery-making—all destroyed.

Linen and lisle thread industry—totally destroyed.

Sugar industry—all factories dismantled.

Brewing—all copper fittings taken away and considerably injured.

Woolen industry—all motors, all brass and copper and belting and many looms taken.

Cotton industry—all motors, all brass and copper, all belting taken away. A considerable amount of other destruction.

There are hardly any electric motors or engines left in and around these cities. The motors of the Lille Tramway Company were taken away.

All stocks of raw material and of manufactured goods were taken.

A great part of the capital of the mercantile community was extracted by fines and levies.

Many of the workmen, male and female, were taken as prisoners into Germany and many will never return.

Such is the state in which Germany has left the industries of this great Department of the North—once the busy hive of French industry.

#### RUINED COAL MINES

The industrial system of France is governed by its coal mines. In the main they lie close together, in the Pas de Calais, in the Bas-Boulonnais, and in the Department of the North—making before the war a rich and flourishing group of towns and villages, connected by a wonderful system of canals, railways, and stone-paved roads with the chief centres

of consumption. Compared with the German coalfields, those of Northern France were small, yet so well were they organized that the mining companies of the Pas de Calais competed successfully with the mines of the Ruhr and the Sarre. In the twenty years before the war the production of the Pas de Calais had more than doubled; in 1911 it amounted to 19,500,000 and in 1912 to 21,000,000 tons, an increase of 7 per cent. in a single year, and it supported a sturdy population of 94,000 workers, of whom 72,000 were miners and 22,000 worked above ground. The neighboring coalfield of the north was smaller; in 1912 it produced 7,000,000 tons and employed 33,000 workers, of whom 24,000 were miners.

This industry had its centre at Lens, a considerable town of between 30,000 and 40,000 inhabitants, pleasantly situated in its valley and handsomely built and famous for its gardens, in which the miners took a pride. It was known in Northern France as the garden city of the miners. When the Germans invaded this region they either occupied or brought under fire the richest of these mines and stopped at a blow the production of 20,000,000 tons a year, which is to say half the total coal production of France.

The directors and miners of the pits that remained in French hands worked like heroes, often under shellfire, to make good the loss. The working day was lengthened from eight to nine hours. In the space of two years they increased their production by 50 per cent., and some of them even doubled their pre-war records.

As for the greater part of the coalfields which remained in German hands, they have been systematically and deliberately destroyed. The destruction, it is important to remember, was not only the destruction of the battlefield—it was also the destruction of the economic war waged by the Germans upon French industry.

I went through the coalfields from Béthune to Douai, and so much was plain even to my cursory inspection. For example, at one pithead all the main supports of the superstructure had been



separately broken at the same height from the ground. It was quite evidently done not by shellfire, but by an expert wrecker. Outside the range of severe fire, I saw pitheads where the boilers, pumps, lifts, caldrons, power houses, and engines were reduced to a mass of inextricable ruin and confusion.

The Germans have also been at pains to drown the mines and to fill up the shafts. Near Lens they turned the little River Souchez into the pits. For part of its course the river has disappeared and flows through the shafts and galleries of the mines.

At Courrières, according to the French official report, all the superstructure, buildings, and machinery have been destroyed by deliberate explosions. And, again, the report says: "Dans le groupe du Pas-de-Calais, à Lens, a Liévin, ils ont détruit sans aucune nécessité militaire toutes les installations extérieures, chevalements, ateliers, machines, que l'action de l'artillerie avait épargnés. Les chaudières sont crevées ou emportées, les cités ouvrières anéanties, les mines elles-mêmes sont entièrement noyées." And so also in the eastern part of the coalfields, the region between Valenciennes and Douai, which for four years was in German occupation. There, at all events, the destruction was not by the accident of battle.

In the opinion of experts it will take two years before even the less damaged mines can begin to produce, and it will take five years to bring most of the pits into anything like working order. The work of sixty years has been destroyed in four—and cannot be restored without infinite labor and enormous expense.

Such is the state to which the Germans have reduced the French coal industry. They have done it deliberately as part of their economic war, so that German coal might have a market in France.

Consider the crime! The Germans deliberately destroyed the industry which gave to France its heat, and light, and power. They decreed that the hearths of a million homes should have no fire; they designed that factories should go idle for want of steam. It was within their purpose that a hundred thousand miners should be robbed of their living and that

Northern France should for a period of years be without the coal which is the life of her industry.

#### AMONG THE RUINS

Lens was once a happy and prosperous town. Now to go down into the valley of Lens is like a descent into hell. It is such destruction as none can imagine who has not seen it. In its outer fringes there are still the semblances of houses, roofless and shattered, but still recognizable as such. As you go down the hill chaos encroaches more and more upon order until at last not even walls remain nor the semblance even of streets—nothing, nothing at all but broken rubble and splintered timber in a welter of confusion and ruin.

At the bottom of the hill there is a small, open oval, clear of rubbish. It is what was the Grande Place of Lens, but it now looks like a piece of level ground at the bottom of a quarry. A piece of the wall of the Mairie—a massive, jagged tooth of masonry, fifteen feet or so in height—is the only recognizable thing in sight.

Here in this centre of ruin we came upon a group at once odd and tragic. It consisted of two horses and a cart, drawn up near a deep and narrow hole, like a shaft leading into a mine. A stout old French lady, all muffled up in woolen wraps, was kneeling beside the hole and taking various articles of wreckage out of the hands of some worker below. Sometimes a charred piece of furniture would be pushed up, sometimes an old illustrated magazine, and again the fragments of a handsome ormolu and alabaster clock. The lady I discovered to be the wife of a banker whose bank had been on the Grande Place of Lens; the hole led down into what were the cellars of the bank, where she had left her papers and worldly gear; she and her daughter had come in the cart to recover what remained, and at the moment of our passing the daughter was down in the hole scraping out the miserable remnants of their household goods.

Not even the cellars of Lens are left to the people of Lens. Not even the shafts and galleries of their mines are left to the miners of the Pas-de-Calais.



## THE FORGES OF DOUAI

From ruined Lens we passed along a stone-paved road lined with shattered houses and pitheads systematically destroyed. It was a melancholy approach to what was once among the busiest and most beautiful towns in Northern France, the now deserted City of Douai. This town, as I need hardly say, had long been in German occupation. Before the Germans left it was evacuated of all its civil population, which amounted in time of peace to some 35,000 people. Long before the Germans left they had pillaged all the factories and carried away what suited them into Germany.

Before the war Douai had some flourishing industries. It had its breweries, its sugar refineries, its rope walks and spinning mills, its arsenal, and, chief of them all, its famous Forges de Douai—a great iron and steel works, which covered many acres on both sides of the railway station.

I went to see the Forges. I could not find them. It is true that on one side of the railway, the Aceries, that is to say, the steel works, are still recognizable as such, though broken to pieces. But upon the other side of the railway, where at one time the greater part of the Forges were situated, there is nothing now but the twisted skeletons of two great sheds and the huge cement platforms on which the main buildings once stood. These cement platforms are bare and clean, as if they had been swept. There is nothing left on them at all, but at the four corners are four high factory chimneys, which, I was told, the boche left as landmarks for his airplanes. They are now the melancholy headstones—the silent obelisks—of a great dead industry.

So it is with the Arsenal. So with all the industries of Douai. I walked down the deserted Boulevard de l'Industrie, which borders on the Scarpe Canal. It is a line of ruined factories. But their ruins were to me less impressive than those great empty platforms of the Forges, with their tall chimneys pointing heavenward as if in protest.

The fate of the Forges de Douai was the fate of the Forges of Anzin and Denain. These latter iron and steel

works were the greatest in France. They covered an area of five kilometers by two. They produced 350,000 tons a year, and they employed no less than 25,000 workmen. The story of their destruction has already been told in an interview with their Managing Director, M. Woerth. The Germans occupied Denain on Sept. 2, 1914. Shortly afterward a German officer visited the works, which had closed their doors. He asked M. Woerth to continue. "The Germans," he said, "would furnish them with ore, and if need be with engineers." M. Woerth refused. The request was repeated. It was followed by threats, but to no purpose. As in the Kuhlmann Works, in Lille, so here. No threat could induce the management to help in making war against their own country.

The next move in the German game was to place the Forges under sequestration. There was a great show of legality. Everything was inventoried and a sequestrator was installed in the person of a German manufacturer in uniform, one Captain Bocking. Gangs of German workmen appeared and began to fill railway cars with the iron ore and the finished products of the factory. Still everything was done with a laborious German etiquette. A hundred times a day the Director was called upon to assist in the play, to accept delivery of some new scrap of paper. When the whole stock of the factories had been removed, the gangs began upon the machinery. The molds for steel ingots were first taken away. The manager protested. "Do not trouble yourself," said the German, "we will only take the old ones."

## "WAR AFTER THE WAR"

But the new molds followed the old. And then came the turn of the cylinders and the rolling machines—the very vitals of the factory. The Director protested again. "This," he said, "is to make war after the war. My 20,000 workmen will starve."

A pause. Bocking had gone to Metz for instruction. Now at Metz there sat the permanent board and the Commander in Chief of the Central Service for Destruction, composed of industrial mag-



nates, financiers, and lawyers. For, as I have said, the boche does everything in order.

Now, when Bocking got to Metz a disagreeable surprise awaited him. A German spy, named Dryer, an old foreman of the steel works of Homecourt, who was anxious to make a reputation, had reported to the council, denouncing Bocking as too mild in his treatment of the Forges. Bocking returned to Denain burning with the desire to prove his zeal. In less than a week all the remaining cylinders and flatting mills were packed in wagons and sent across the Rhine. In the meantime the Director and his workmen had hidden away the brass work of the factory. He was called before his persecutor and told that unless he revealed the hiding place his 20,000 workmen would be deported to Germany. It was a terrible moment. The Director called in his foreman to a council of war and they decided that to save their workmen they must give up their brass work.

#### PICKING THE BONES

Then came the turn of the machine tools. All the other machinery followed. Then the locomotives. Then the cars. And lastly, the rails. Nothing was left but the empty factory and forges and machines too heavy for transport.

But the end was not yet. The "B. H. D. K.," that is to say, the German service of Economic Destruction, a branch of the Central Office at Metz, had sent down upon Denain a terrible band of ruffians, led by a German foreman, themselves under the command of German officers, who could be trusted to pick a factory as clean as a bone, and Russian, English, and French prisoners of war, who worked under the threat of revolver and pistol. All that had been too heavy to carry away, great generators, massive furnaces, were broken with the hammer or destroyed with dynamite.

And now, last scene of all. On Oct. 13 the Germans were forced to leave Denain. At a hundred points they set fire to the buildings, and left a conflagration to be seen even in the suburbs of Cambrai. So perished an in-

dustry valued at 500,000,000 francs, the life and support of many thousands of families. It is perhaps the supreme example of Germany's conception of economic war.

#### RUINED FARMING DISTRICTS

*A correspondent of The London Times who visited the devastated areas in France on behalf of the Agricultural Relief of Allies Committee wrote on Jan. 6, 1919:*

The devastated region in the Somme department alone amounts to 477,000 acres. Of this about one-half is completely ruined by the digging of trenches and by bombardment, and will take years to restore; the remainder is capable of being brought back within a measurable time to a state of cultivation. The district extends from Bapaume to Montdidier and from beyond Péronne to within a few miles of Amiens. It would be quite useless to send live stock into any part of this area at the present time, for there are no means of subsistence for animal life and the farmers have no houses to live in. It is hoped, however, that by May arrangements will have been made to enable the farmers gradually to return to their farms in the more favored districts.

Moreuil, Montdidier, Roye, Péronne, Albert, Rosières, places once of considerable importance, are absolutely ruins; they are cast down as if by an earthquake, and the material of which they were built has been grueled into the earth. Occasionally a portion of a dwelling remains, and the inhabitant has struggled back and has stuck over the open window a piece of oiled paper through which a dim light penetrates. The authorities have the greatest difficulty in preventing these poor people from returning to wander disconsolately among the ruins. From the main roads I was taken by devious tracks which once were roads and was shown spots where villages used to be; the only indication now being a little heap of bricks. In these districts there is no sign of life, except the inevitable growth of weeds, which always run riot in the absence of labor, and, but for the life on the roads in the shape of transport wagons, Brit-



ish Tommies, German prisoners, and Chinese, the whole country is dead.

### HOMES DESTROYED FOREVER

The one abiding impression obtained by traversing the battlefields is that of sameness—towns and villages leveled to the ground and fields churned up by shell-fire. Wherever the battle has raged in its fury the effect is the same, and the state of the country beggars description. To feel the full force the present must be contrasted with the past. A few months before the Germans advanced the country around Amiens was sown with wheat. The prospect was good. The farmers had been secure since the retreat of the enemy in 1916. They were industrious and hopeful that the tide had turned and that the worst was over. Suddenly, on March 21, 1918, the German advance began. It became an onrush, and in a few days the enemy was at the gate of Amiens. Then followed a *saute qui peut*. Old men, women, and children seized on as many family goods as they could and fled. Surely the enemy would be stayed; it was only a momentary success. They would return in a few days. It was not to be; they could never return to their homes as they knew them. Their farewell was a final parting, for not one

house was to remain in the villages they left. A few bricks might indicate where the village stood, but no more. Shell, bomb, and dynamite, the sure agents of destruction, would see to that. Those who have known and loved a home can imagine the anguish. No homecoming for the man at the wars. It can never be the same again. Old associations cannot be re-created. A wound had been inflicted which can never heal.

The trees which are so essential to the beauty of the country, which give shade to the traveler and rest the eye, could tell a tale; whole woods have been mown down; others stand up limbless and headless like scaffolding poles. All are pierced and torn. The landscape is waste and treeless. The earth must have looked like this when first it cooled and before there was life and all was void. The work of centuries has been erased, and a new creation is required. When the Cathedral of Chartres was destroyed in the twelfth century it was considered to be such a calamity for Christendom that pilgrims flocked from all sides to aid in its rebuilding. In the same way this great calamity which France has suffered for the common cause must not be left on her shoulders alone to bear.

## Summary of War Damage in France

By GEORGE B. FORD

*Head of Research Department of American Red Cross in France*

[A REPORT PREPARED IN DECEMBER, 1918, AND APPROVED BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT]

THE devastated area in France covers approximately 6,000 square miles in all, about 2 per cent. of France, with a total population of nearly 2,000,000 people. This is about equal to the area of Connecticut and Rhode Island.

Belgium has suffered at least two billion dollars' worth of destruction in all and there are two billion in thefts and taxes imposed by Germany. Of this amount \$1,150,000,000 is the loss of machinery, tools, and stock, and 150,000 workmen have been taken into Germany.

On July 24, 1917, the French Ministry of Interior prepared a report on the destruction, as closely as it could be determined on the French side of the lines. This report was the successor of a first report which was made at the end of May, 1916. The later report covered 1,223 communes in 11 departments, whereas the earlier report covered 754 communes in 10 departments. This number does not include 450 communes which were still too near the front to make possible a complete survey. The total number of communes freed from the enemy was



499 by the advance of the Spring of 1917, thereby reducing the total number of communes resting in the hands of the Germans from 2,554 to 2,055, all of which are now freed. Most of these communes are strictly agricultural, so that the destruction hits particularly hard the richest farming area of France.

It was reckoned that in the 1,223 communes reported on a year ago the number of buildings damaged was 102,697, as compared with 46,263 in May, 1916, and of these the statistics show that in 1917 50,756 of the buildings were completely destroyed. Of these latter 18,824 were in the Somme district and 12,701 in the Aisne.

#### 250,000 BUILDINGS ANNIHILATED

The hasty investigation since the signing of the armistice shows that the total destruction in France has been quintupled, with something like 500,000 buildings damaged, and at least 250,000 are completely destroyed.

The average cost of these buildings before the war was nearly \$5,000. As the present cost of a building is about two and a half times greater than it was then, we can say that the total destruction in France of the buildings alone is today over \$6,000,000,000, as estimated by the Government engineers, and \$4,000,000,000 as estimated by the architects and constructors' associations.

The total cost of repairing and replacing the used or destroyed public works is estimated at about \$2,000,000,000, of which \$200,000,000 is for the Nord Railroad, \$150,000,000 for the East, \$50,000,000 for the other railroads, \$200,000,000 to cover the rebuilding of the canals. The Nord alone has lost 1,731 bridges and 338 stations.

In 1917 there were 527 communes in which over half of the buildings had been completely destroyed. This number has probably reached today something like 1,500 communes in all. In 1917, in 400 communes, over 80 per cent. of the buildings had been damaged, and this proportion probably reaches today over 1,000 communes in all. In the Summer of 1917 they counted over 435 town halls destroyed, 600 schools, 472

churches, and 377 other public buildings, and it could be safely said today that there are over 1,200 churches destroyed and over 1,500 schools in all.

In 1917 they counted over 414 industrial plants destroyed, which supported 105,000 persons. It can probably be said today that there are in all over 1,000 plants destroyed, supporting at least 500,000 persons.

On Oct. 25, 1916, a report was made by the Minister of the Interior on the building materials destroyed which would have to be replaced. It was made for 790 communes, or for 41,223 buildings totally or approximately destroyed, and it comprises the destruction of 1,700,000 cubic yards of stone masonry, 600,000 cubic yards of brick masonry, 300,000 tons of lime, &c. The largest part of this destruction was in the Pas-de-Calais, and the next larger in the Meurthe-et-Moselle. It also showed the destruction of 200,000,000 feet of lumber and 33,000 tons of iron and steel, with 91,000,000 roof tiles destroyed and 32,000,000 roofing slates. It can be probably said today that the total destruction would be at least five times the amount given in the above figures.

The total cost of furniture and furnishings today, exclusive of machinery, amounts to at least \$2,225,000,000, as estimated by the Government engineers, and over \$1,000,000,000, as estimated by the insurance companies.

#### DAMAGE TO AGRICULTURE

According to a report made by the Office de Reconstitution Agricole to the Minister of Liberated Regions in May, 1918, it was reckoned that at that time about 8,000 square miles of French land was in the hands of the Germans. About three-quarters of that area is tillable, and a large proportion of the rest is good for hay or pasturage. This is some of the very best and richest agricultural land in Europe. The ten invaded and liberated departments produced in 1913 nearly \$400,000,000 worth of crops. The average yield of this land is about 32 bushels of wheat to the acre, and in the Meuse and Meurthe-et-Moselle it drops down to about 17 bushels to the acre. In the Marne this drops down to about



22 bushels to the acre. These regions constitute about 15 per cent. of the total tillable area of France, and the crops constitute about 20 per cent. of the total for France. The agricultural population here is about 807,000, or about 10 per cent. of the working agricultural population of France. It is estimated that 250,000 acres are now rendered uncultivable by the war.

In this region there are about 250,000 farms, of which 110,000 are less than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres apiece, and about 100,000 between  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and 25 acres. About 26,000 are between 25 and 100 acres, and 5,500 farms are over 100 acres. A great many of these farms belong to people who are working in factories, which accounts for there being such a large proportion of small farms. This is reckoned unusual in France. The capital investment in these farms is reckoned at \$400,000,000, which would mean \$1,600 average per farm. When we remember that the value of farms has more than doubled in France since the beginning of the war, it would mean the total value of these farms today stands near \$800,000,000, without counting the value of the buildings.

To get an idea of the number of agricultural implements that would be needed a list was made by the Government engineer in charge which showed that to replace the losses they would need about 51,000 side-hill plows, 33,000 other plows, 56,000 cultivators, 30,000 mowing machines, 115,000 farm wagons, 88,000 harrows, 50,000 rollers, 48,000 hoes, 36,000 seed drills, 13,000 fertilizers, 16,000 beet extractors, 21,000 winnowing machines, 18,000 horse rakes, 32,000 reapers and binders, 53,000 root cutters, &c.

With regard to the cattle lost, it is hard to get at the exact figures, but in these ten departments in 1913 there were 607,000 horses, whereas in 1915 there were only 242,000, or a loss of 60 per cent. Of cattle of all kinds there was a loss of 850,000, or 55 per cent.; of pigs there was a loss of 380,000, or about 55 per cent. The loss in wheat amounts to about 1,300,000 acres. The loss in hay amounts to about 850,000 acres. The total damage to the soil to live

stock, to crops, to forests, tools, &c., is estimated at \$2,000,000,000.

#### DAMAGE TO INDUSTRY

Before the war France used 59,407,000 tons of coal a year, with an addition of 9,166,000 tons in coke equivalent. Of this France produced about 40,844,000 tons and 5,357,000 tons of coke equivalent, the rest coming from abroad. Of this amount 27,389,000 tons of coal came from the Valenciennes basin. In all something over 70 per cent. of the total coal supply of France came from the invaded regions, and very much the best quality of coal at that. About 140,000 men were employed in these mines in the invaded regions out of 203,208 coal miners for all of France. This means, with their families, three-quarters of a million people were largely dependent on the coal mines. Over \$200,000,000 of machinery has probably been destroyed.

Before the war the total production of iron ore in France was about 21,918,000 tons, of which 19,629,000 tons came from the Briey and Longwy basins in the Meurthe-et-Moselle; that is, 90 per cent. of the total, of which 16,500,000 tons were in the hands of the Germans. The miners who were employed in these invaded mines, with their families, represented at least 150,000 people out of employment. It is interesting to note that just before the war the total of iron production of the Germans was 35,941,000 tons. In the United States it was 63,000,000 tons. More than \$500,000,000 worth of machinery has been destroyed, including that of steel and iron mills.

Before the war 3,000,000 tons of steel were manufactured in the region invaded by Germany out of 4,686,000 tons for all of France, or nearly 65 per cent. The same percentage holds for cast iron.

The effect of the German invasion on other metals has not been so serious, as most of them come from the interior of France. The chemical industries have proportionally suffered very little from the invasion.

The textile industry consisted before the war of about 7,530,000 cotton spindles throughout France, of which 4,500,000 were in the region invaded by Germany and of which almost all were either



destroyed or carried into Germany. Out of 2,365,000 wool spindles, 2,000,000 were in the invaded districts. Out of 550,000 linen spindles, 500,000 were in the invaded regions and destroyed or removed. The same is true of looms, of which there were 140,000 in France, and over 81,000 of these were in the invaded districts. Over \$120,000,000 worth of machinery has been destroyed.

Of 210 sugar refineries in France, 140 have been destroyed by the Germans. Of 3,000 brush factories, more than 2,000 have been destroyed. Over \$25,000,000 worth of machinery has been destroyed. Electric power stations, totaling 300,000 kilowatts, have been destroyed with an equipment loss of \$50,000,000. Breweries have lost more than \$250,000,000 worth of machinery. In machine shops \$100,000,000 worth of machinery has been destroyed. In foundries, &c., \$60,000,000 worth of machinery is gone.

None of these damages include land or buildings. Furthermore, almost all of this machinery costs three times as much to replace today, so that it can safely be said that \$4,000,000,000 worth of machinery will be needed to replace that destroyed or carried away. This includes the stock and raw materials damaged and damage done to the mines.

Before the war France used to manufacture 3,000,000 tons of cement a year. In February, 1918, it was manufacturing only 400,000 tons.

#### FOREST LAND DESTROYED

The Service of Forests and Water Supply in the Department of Agriculture estimates that 1,200,000 acres of forest land have been destroyed by the enemy. Over half of this wooded area belongs to the Government or to the communes. There were about 750,000 acres of woodland within the war zone which have not been cared for since the beginning of the war and which have thereby lost a great deal of their value. We can count on the complete loss of at least one-quarter of this latter area, or a total loss of nearly 1,500,000 acres. Therefore, through the destruction by the Germans and destruction caused by battle, France has lost nearly 10 per cent. of its lumber and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of its firewood.

The war has destroyed over 2,000,000,000 board-feet of lumber.

Before the war there were about 750,000 men in the various building trades, of whom about 75,000 were in the invaded departments. The total building done throughout France before the war in any one year was less than 7 per cent. of the building that would have to be done to replace what has been destroyed in the invaded departments. Therefore if no building were to be done elsewhere in France after the war, and reckoning that 500,000 of the building tradesmen of France would be available to work in the devastated regions, it would take over twenty years to rebuild.

The total damage in the north of France, including buildings, agriculture, industry, furniture, and public works, is estimated at 64,500,000,000 francs, or about \$13,000,000,000. These were the figures reported by M. Dubois for the Committee on Budget in the Chamber of Deputies, December, 1918. We have checked most of these figures from various official and private sources and believe they are somewhat high.

#### GOVERNMENTAL RELIEF

In general the Government has been giving immediate aid and relief to the returning refugees, clothing them, feeding them, giving them shelter and the necessary utensils and tools, and it has been helping them establish themselves permanently by giving them advances on the eventual indemnities which they will probably receive from the Government and helping them to construct the necessary buildings. More than \$34,000,000 has already been distributed for immediate aid out of a total credit of \$60,000,000 which was voted in December, 1918.

Up to March 31, 1918, \$28,000,000 had been advanced to returning refugees against their eventual indemnity to help them get started in re-establishing themselves. In addition, about \$10,000,000 has been advanced against industrial indemnity. In addition, \$1,200,000 has been advanced to the farmers to help them start recultivation.



To prepare for eventual reconstruction the technical service of reconstruction of the Government is organizing a bureau to purchase building material in advance. It is expected that a credit of \$60,000,000 will now be voted to this bureau, \$20,000,000 of this to be available to house and feed workmen in the devastated regions while they are starting reconstruction. Materials and housing will be allocated from the Government storage yards to co-operative groups of contractors according to priority rules.

On Dec. 13, 1918, there was created in the Ministry of War a special service for supplying and setting up temporary barracks wherever needed for workmen or refugees.

In July, 1918, the Ministry of Liberated Regions asked for bids from private manufacturers on 75,000 articles of furniture, including chairs, tables, cupboards, and wardrobes. At the end of August, 1918, it asked for bids on a lot of standardized doors and windows that could be made up ahead, including 20,000 exterior doors, 42,000 interior doors, 37,000 windows, and 25,000 shutters. Today it is rapidly increasing these orders, especially to the plants that until the signing of the armistice were manufacturing airplane parts.

With regard to the furniture indemnity law about to be voted, which provides for paying damages for furniture loss up to \$2,000, the decree was issued by the Ministry of Liberated Regions on Nov. 2, 1918, which allows the individual who has suffered loss of furniture to go out and buy his own furniture with an advance which will be made to him by the State of a sum which must not exceed \$200 for the head of the family and \$40 for each other member of the family. If the damaged person prefers, the State will provide him with the furniture out of a stock which it is accumulating.

#### RE-ESTABLISHING AGRICULTURE

In the Spring of 1917 1,000,000 acres of land were released, of which at least 500,000 were tillable. During 1917 the tractor service of the Department of Agriculture plowed 80,000 acres, the French

Army plowed 12,000 acres, and the British Army plowed about 50,000 acres. At that time the Government owned 800 tractors and had on order 1,500 more. It is probable that it has today over 1,500 tractors available, of which half are for the devastated regions.

During the Summer and Fall of 1917 the Office of Agricultural Reconstitution, through the special mission of the agricultural co-operative societies, founded 120 agricultural co-operatives in as many villages in the Somme, Aisne, and the Pas-de-Calais. These co-operatives include in some cases in their membership nearly all the farmers in the commune. Among them they had nearly 100,000 acres of land under cultivation, with a total membership of nearly 8,000 people. Virtually all of them were wiped out by the German advance in the Spring of 1918.

The mission is trying to reorganize them and to create other co-operatives to stock them with instruments, machines, and cattle, so that they can start operations as units on their return to their native villages. The \$20,000,000 which was recently voted for encouraging agriculture is being used in part for the founding of these co-operatives.

#### INDUSTRIAL RE-ESTABLISHMENT

To prepare for the enormous need of industrial materials, machinery, and tools, after the war, the Office of Industrial Reconstitution has been organized and has been composed half of officials and half of manufacturers. It has a credit of \$50,000,000 to arrange for buying up raw materials, machinery, tools, &c., and it arranges for ceding them to the damaged manufacturers. It is not equipped to buy and sell on a large scale itself, but has intrusted its credit to a private body organized for this purpose. This organization, formed in the first year of the war, is called *L'Association Centrale pour la Reprise de l'Activité Industrielle dans les Régions Envahies*. It is composed of most of the industrial people in the invaded departments. Its object is to employ every useful means for restoring the machinery and stocks destroyed. How-



ever, according to French law, the group cannot trade. It can only be a consulting and plan-forming body; therefore, it created the Comptoir Centrale d'Achats Industriels pour le Regions Envahies.

The latter has a capital of \$200,000. It has a council that controls all buying and selling and which authorizes the projects of each of the subcommittees for each kind of industry to buy and sell. Each project must also be approved by the Office of Reconstitution, which allocates the necessary funds from its credit. The Comptoir can buy directly for a private owner, or it can constitute general stocks for later use. The recipient can pay for tools or machinery in cash, or he can have the total deducted from his eventual State indemnity. Cash is not given to the manufacturer. This is to save his money by wholesale quantity buying and to prevent the unfortunate

effect on the market of a number of little buyers competing against each other.

At the present day these services have effected purchases to the amount of about \$12,000,000 and prepared orders for machinery, tools, and raw materials for more than \$40,000,000. These orders are especially assigned to the reconstitution of coal mines, of central electric power plants and of their distribution works, of general tools, &c. Other orders to a total amount of \$30,000,000 are now being prepared for textile industries, breweries, sugar mills, and for oil, grease, &c. Supplementary credit on new orders is expected in a short while. The Comptoir can, by its constitution, make no profits; merely its running expenses and 5 per cent. on its actually paid-in private capital.

*Mr. Ford's report ends with a summary of reconstruction work by private individuals and organizations.*

## Epicedium

IN MEMORY OF AMERICA'S DEAD IN THE GREAT WAR

By J. CORSON MILLER

No more for them shall Evening's rose unclose,  
Nor Dawn's emblazoned panoplies be spread;  
Alike, the Rain's warm kiss and stabbing snows  
Unminded, fall upon each hallowed head.  
*But the Bugles, as they leap and wildly sing,  
Rejoice, . . . remembering.*

The guns' mad music their young ears have known—  
War's lullabies that moaned on Flanders Plain;  
Tonight the Wind walks on them, still as stone,  
Where they lie huddled close as riven grain.  
*But the Drums, reverberating, proudly roll—  
They love a Soldier's soul!*

With arms outflung, and eyes that laughed at Death,  
They drank the wine of sacrifice and loss;  
For them a life-time spanned a burning breath,  
And Truth they visioned, clean of earthly dross.  
*But the Fifes—can ye not hear their lusty shriek?  
They know, and now they speak.*

The lazy drift of cloud, the noonday hum  
Of vagrant bees, the lark's untrammelled song,  
Shall gladden them no more, who now lie dumb  
In Death's strange sleep, yet once were swift and strong.  
*But the Bells that to all living listeners peal,  
With joy their deeds reveal!*

They have given their lives, with bodies bruised and broken,  
Upon their Country's altar they have bled;  
They have left as priceless heritage a token  
That Honor lives forever with the Dead.  
*And the Bugles, as their clear notes rise and fall—  
They answer, knowing all.*



[OFFICIAL]

# HAIG'S VICTORY DISPATCH

## Full Text of the British Field Marshal's Official Narrative of the Final Battles in France

[FIRST HALF]

*The British War Office made public on Jan. 7, 1919, the dispatch of Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British Armies in France, describing the operations on the western front from the end of April, 1918, to the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11. It is a story of continuous victories and one of the most absorbing documents of the war. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE presents the complete text in two installments. The dispatch is addressed to the British Secretary of State for War and is as follows:*

21st December, 1918.

**M**Y LORD: I have the honor to submit the following report on the operations of the forces under my command since the successful termination of the great defensive battles on the Somme and Lys Rivers, which were described in my last dispatch.

### (I) STATE OF BRITISH ARMIES

At the end of April, 1918, though the onrush of the German Armies had been stemmed for the time being, the situation on the western front, and particularly on the British portion of it, was still critical.

The immense weight of the enemy's first and heaviest onslaughts in March and April, and the unprecedented masses of men and material employed by him, had called for practically the whole strength of the British Armies to withstand them, and had left our forces greatly weakened. Although prompt steps had been taken by the home authorities to dispatch to France as rapidly as possible all reinforcements then available in England, as well as to recall considerable bodies of troops from other theatres of war, these reinforcements required time to arrive. A further period was needed to complete their training and equipment, to allow troops brought from abroad to become acclimatized, and to enable the new drafts to become assimilated within their various units.

Meanwhile it had become impossible to

maintain at an effective strength the full number of our divisions. At the beginning of May no less than eight divisions had been reduced to cadres and were temporarily written off altogether as fighting units. Two other divisions were holding positions in line with reduced cadres which it was not yet possible to bring up to establishment.

Arrangements had been made at the end of April to hand over to the French for employment on a quiet part of their front a further five divisions, comprising the Ninth Corps, (see Paragraph 10 below.) These had only just been reconstituted, and, being badly in need of rest and training, were not yet considered fit to hold an active sector. In return for these five British divisions, and in accordance with Marshal Foch's views, presently explained, regarding the enemy's intentions, the French had dispatched a number of their divisions to be held in reserve in rear of the British right and to strengthen the Flanders front.

There remained available for operations on the British front forty-five British infantry divisions, most of which were below establishment. Fully three-fourths of them had been heavily engaged in one or other of the enemy's offensives, if not in both. All were urgently in need of rest; they contained a large number of young, partially trained, and totally inexperienced recruits, and subordinate commanders had had little or



no opportunity to become acquainted with their men.

### (2) POSITION OF ALLIES

The French, though as yet they had been less heavily engaged than ourselves, had none the less been obliged to employ a substantial proportion of their reserves in the fighting south of the Somme and north of the Lys.

The American Army, though rapidly increasing in numbers and efficiency, was not yet ready to take the field in sufficient strength materially to affect the situation. In short, the German attacks, though they had failed to break the allied line, had stretched the resources of the Allies to the uttermost; while before Amiens and Hazebrouck they had brought the enemy within a short distance of strategic points of great importance. In these circumstances, the possibility of an immediate renewal of the enemy's offensive could not but be viewed with grave anxiety.

### (3) THE ENEMY'S POSITION

On the other hand, the enemy had undoubtedly paid heavily for his successes, and had used up a great number of divisions, among them his best and his most highly trained. The reserves which he was known to have had at his disposal at the beginning of the year would suffice, indeed, to make good his losses; but in his case, also, time would be required before the divisions which had suffered most would be fit to undertake a fresh attack against prepared positions.

At the commencement of the period under review the enemy was estimated to possess seventy-five divisions in reserve on the western front. It was evident that further German attacks could not long be postponed if the enemy was to achieve a decision before the weight of the American Army was thrown into the scale.

### (4) THE ENEMY'S INTENTIONS

At this period, early in May, the Allied High Command repeatedly expressed the opinion that the enemy would renew his attack on a large scale on the front Arras-Amiens-Montdidier. The strategic results to be obtained by the capture of Amiens, the separation of the French and British Armies, and an advance toward the sea along the Valley of the Somme, were very great, and might well have proved decisive. The enemy's opening offensive had already brought him within a measurable distance of success in this direction, and had carried his armies through practically the whole of our organized lines of defense.

Since the conclusion of his attacks on this front in the first week of April, the enemy had had a considerable period of time in

which to re-establish communications through the devastated area, and make his preparations for a fresh advance. This period of delay had also afforded us some opportunity, of which full use was being made with all the means and resources in our power, to lay out new trench lines and reconstruct such old systems as already existed. This work, however, was still far from complete, and our defenses could not be compared with those which the enemy had already overrun.

### (5) POLICY OF BRITISH ARMIES

In short, the enemy still possessed a sufficient superiority of force to retain the initiative, and it was known that he would be compelled to act within a comparatively limited time if he were to turn his superiority to account before it passed from him. These were the two main factors which had to be taken into consideration when deciding the policy of the British Armies during the late Spring and early Summer. The common object of the French and ourselves was to tide over the period which must still elapse until the growth of the American Armies and the arrival of allied reinforcements placed the opposing forces once more on a footing of equality.

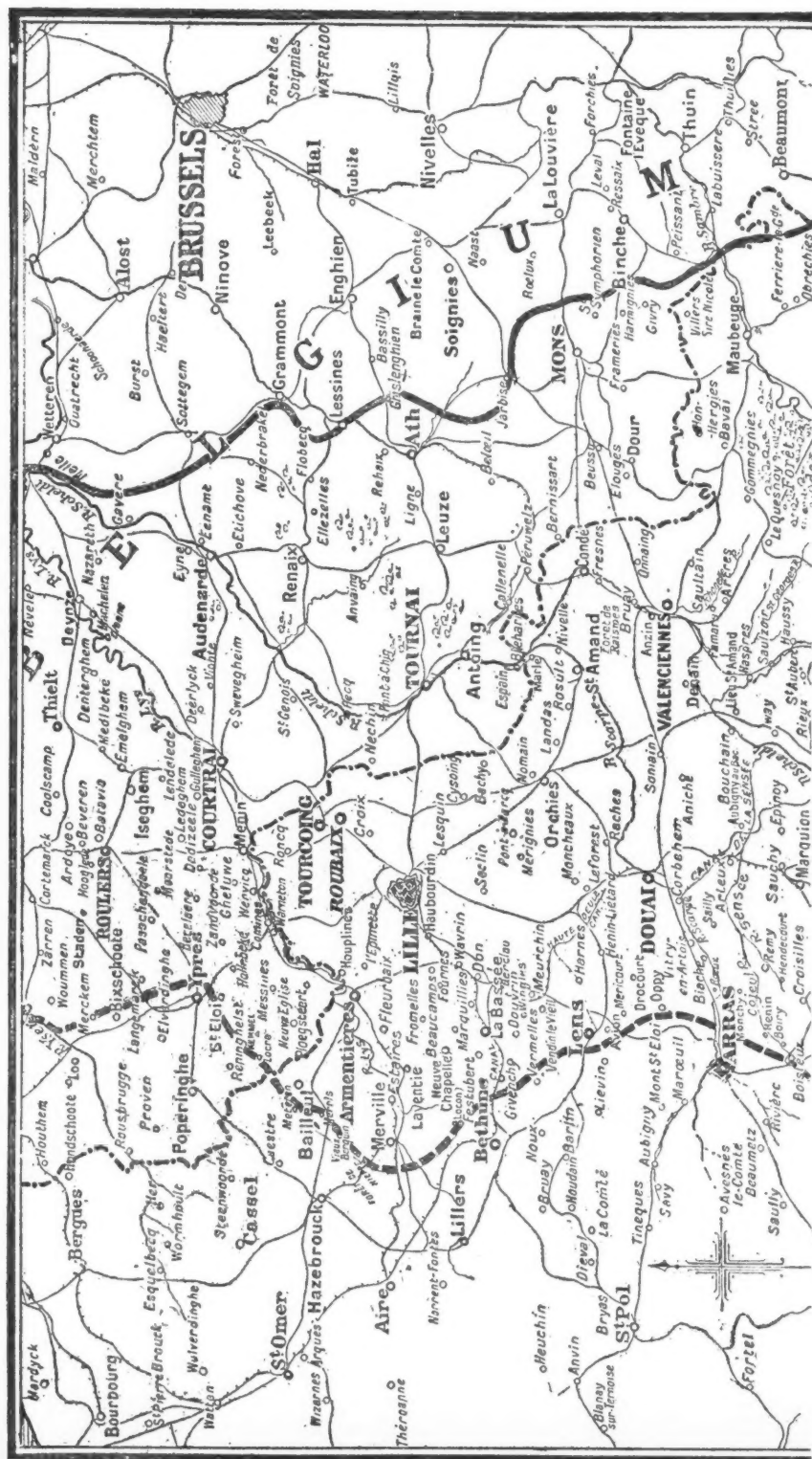
The situation was an anxious one, but it was confidently expected that, if all measures open to us were undertaken promptly and executed with the energy and zeal demanded by the occasion, the enemy's future assaults would be met and overthrown as those had been which he had already made. If the Allies could preserve their front unbroken until August at the latest there was every hope that during the later portion of the year they would be able to regain the initiative, and pass to the offensive in their turn.

The period under review accordingly divides itself naturally into two main sections. During the first, the policy governing the action of the forces under my command was the maintenance of an active defense, whereby our line might be preserved unbroken, while every opportunity was taken to rest and train our sorely tried divisions. As the strength and efficiency of our divisions were restored, minor operations of gradually increasing scope, but with limited objectives, could be carried out with greater frequency. These would serve to keep alive the fighting spirit of the troops, and could be used to effect local improvements in our line, where such improvement was considered necessary either for defense or for attack.

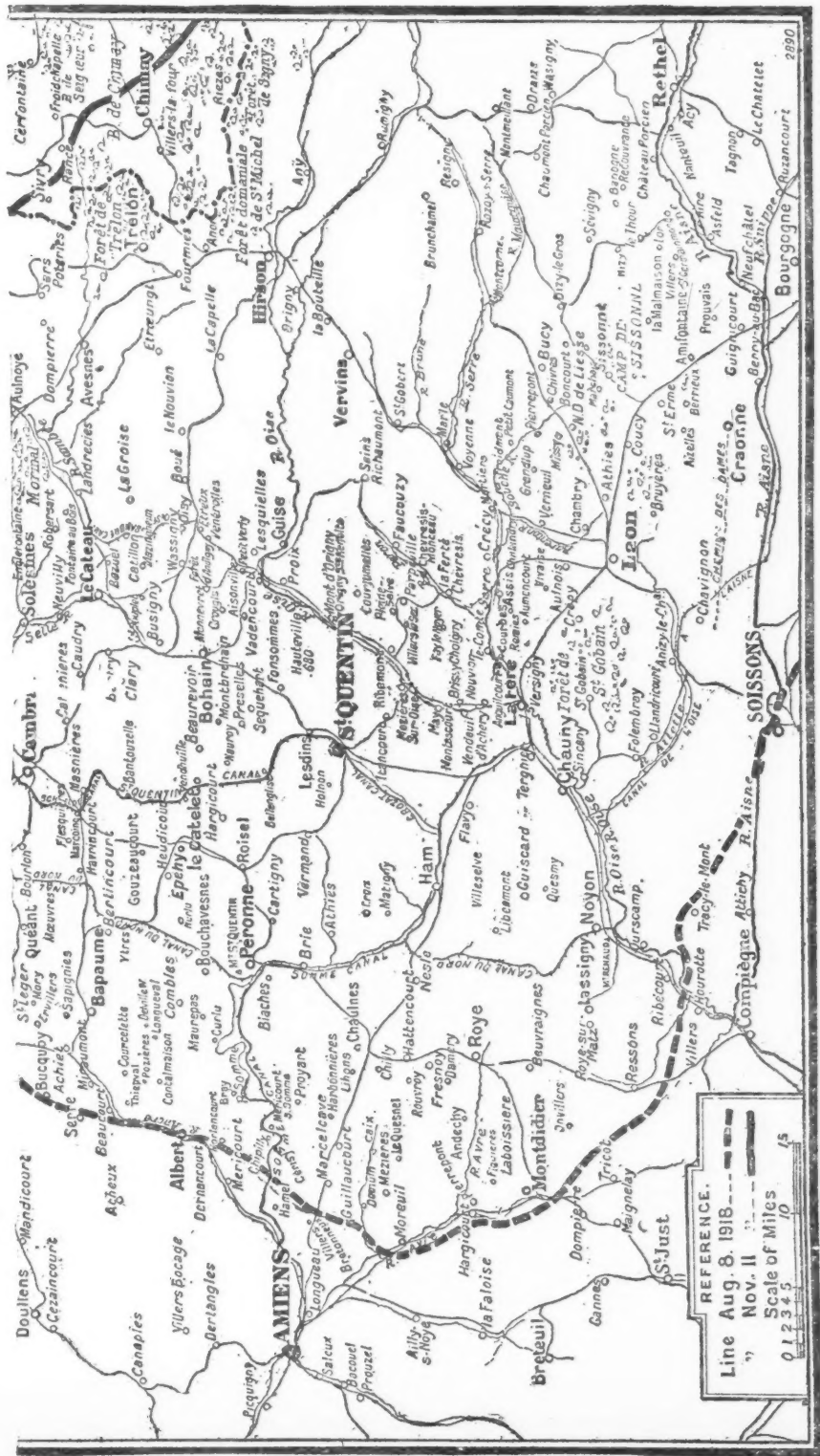
The second period arrived when the swelling list of German casualties and the steady influx of American and allied reinforcements had produced an equilibrium of strength between the opposing forces. The complete success of the allied counterattack on the 18th of July near Soissons marked this turning point in the year's campaign, and commenced the second phase of the allied operations. Thereafter the initiative lay with the



# Scene of the Final British Victories in France







THE BROKEN LINE INDICATES THE BATTLEFRONT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE MAIN BRITISH OFFENSIVE, AND THE SOLID BLACK LINE SHOWS WHERE THE GERMANS HAD BEEN DRIVEN TO WHEN THE ARMISTICE WAS SIGNED



Allies, and the growing superiority of their forces enabled them to roll back the tide of invasion with ever-increasing swiftness. At this point and in this connection I should like to pay my personal tribute to the foresight and determination of the French Marshal in whose hands the co-ordination of the action of the allied armies was placed.

## PART I.

### THE PERIOD OF ACTIVE DEFENSE

#### (6) REORGANIZATION

During the period following the breakdown of the German attacks on the Lys the military centre of gravity moved to the south, and, as regards the British front, the months of May, June, and July, though full of incidents of a minor character, in which the different troops concerned showed great gallantry and skill, can be dealt with comparatively shortly.

At the outset of this period, the most pressing need after that of filling up the gaps in our divisions was to close the breaches which the German advances had made in our successive defensive systems. This work had been begun, indeed, in the early days of the Somme offensive, but much still remained to be accomplished before our positions could be regarded as reasonably secure.

Further, the depth to which the enemy had penetrated in the Somme and Lys Valleys had disrupted important lateral lines of railway and had created a situation of extreme gravity with regard to the maintenance of communications in Northern France. At Amiens, Béthune, and Hazebrouck, much-used railway junctions had been brought under the effective fire of the enemy's guns, while the railway centre at St. Pol was threatened. To relieve the situation a comprehensive program of railway construction was undertaken by us in conjunction with the French, so as to provide three separate routes for north and south traffic, which should be independent of Amiens. This involved extensive doublings and quadruplings of existing railways and the building of new lines, for which some 200 miles of broad-gauge track was laid during the period April-July.

All these various constructional needs threw an immense amount of work upon the staff of the departments concerned, and called for the employment of great quantities of skilled and unskilled labor. All available resources of men and material were concentrated upon satisfying them, and by the time that the great change in the general military situation had taken place the essential part had been satisfactorily accomplished. In particular, a complete series of new defensive lines had been built, involving the digging of 5,000 miles of trench.

#### (7) MINOR OPERATIONS IN MAY AND JUNE

While intense activity prevailed behind the lines, our fighting troops were not idle. Full use was made of harassing tactics by all arms, and in the Lys salient in particular the German troops crowded into this exposed area were continually subjected to a most effective system of artillery harassing fire.

The losses suffered by the enemy in the Lys sector and the destruction caused to his artillery and material were very great. Convincing evidence of this was obtained from prisoners' statements, and was furnished also by the extensive German graveyards afterward found in this area, by the condition of the roads, and the litter of all kinds found near them and near battery positions and dumps. These tactics undoubtedly postponed the renewal of the German offensive on this front until the allied counteroffensive made it impossible.

The chief centres of infantry activity during this period were on the fronts of the Fourth and Second Armies. Early in May small operations improved our line about Morlancourt. These were followed on the 19th of May by an admirably executed operation, in which the 2d Australian Division (Major Gen. N. M. Smyth) took Ville-sur-Ancre, with 400 prisoners. Later, on June 10, the same division, in a highly successful night attack on a front of about two miles south of Morlancourt, effected a substantial advance, taking over 300 prisoners.

On the Second Army front, Loere Hospice and the small woods southeast of Dickebusch Lake, known as Scottish and Ridge Woods, were the scenes of very lively fighting, in which French forces took part. A successful minor operation by the French on May 20 resulted in a valuable gain of ground in the neighborhood of Loere Hospice and the capture of over 500 prisoners, though the Hospice itself was not secured by us till the first week in July. Ridge Wood changed hands several times prior to its final capture, with 350 prisoners, by the 6th Division (Major Gen. Sir T. O. Marden) and 33d Division (Major Gen. Sir R. J. Pinney) on July 14.

A material improvement in our line was also effected by the capture, on June 3, of the small hill known as the Mont de Merris, west of Merris village, with nearly 300 prisoners, by the 1st Australian Division (Major Gen. Sir H. E. Walker) and troops of the 29th Division, (Major Gen. D. E. Cayley.) At other points there was much fighting of a minor character, notably about Aveluy Wood and in the neighborhood of the Lawe River and Merville.

#### (8) OPERATIONS IN JULY—HAMEL CAPTURED

Two months of comparative quiet worked a great change in the condition of the British armies. The drafts sent out from England had largely been absorbed, many reinforce-



ments from abroad had already arrived, and the number of our effective infantry divisions had risen from forty-five to fifty-two. In artillery we were stronger than we had ever been.

Though the general situation did not warrant the adoption of a definitely offensive policy, in view of the concentration of the bulk of the enemy's large reserves in Prince Rupprecht's group of armies opposite the British front, I now felt strong enough to undertake operations of a somewhat larger scope, which would at once strengthen our position for defense and fit in with future schemes.

The first of these, carried out at the end of June, east of Nieppe Forest, aimed at establishing our main line of resistance further in advance of the wooded ground, which was constantly being shelled with gas. The assault, launched at 6 A. M., on the 28th of June by the 5th Division (Major Gen. R. B. Stephens) and 31st Division, (Major Gen. J. Campbell,) without preliminary bombardment, took the enemy by surprise, and was completely successful; the German defenses west of the Plate Becque stream, on a front of 6,000 yards from Pont Tournant to La Becque, being captured, together with some 450 prisoners.

A necessary preliminary to any operation to disengage Amiens was the recapture of our old positions east of Hamel and Vaire Wood and the clearing of the Villers Bretonneux Plateau. This was accomplished on July 4 by the Australian Corps, (Lieut. Gen. Sir J. Monash,) with the aid of four companies of the 33d American Division and sixty tanks.

The most striking characteristic of the attack was the close and effective co-operation between tanks and infantry. Moving up and down behind the barrage, the tanks either killed the enemy or forced him to take shelter in dugouts, where he became an easy prey to the infantry. Hamel was taken by envelopment from the flanks and rear, the enemy was driven from Vaire Wood, and at the end of the day our troops had gained all their objectives and over 1,500 prisoners.

Our success at Hamel was followed by a series of admirably executed operations north of the Lys.

On July 11 troops of the 1st Australian Division gave a striking example of their ascendancy over the German infantry opposite to them. At 11 A. M. on this day four men went out on patrol near Merris and returned with between thirty and forty prisoners. Other patrols, pushed forward both by the 1st Australian and 31st Divisions, secured in two days no fewer than 223 prisoners and established a number of new posts well in advance of our former line.

Surprise played an important part in the successful attack by which the 9th Division (Major Gen. H. H. Tudor) took Meteren on July 19, with some 350 prisoners. The village stood on high ground close to our line,

and its capture provided greater depth to our defense.

For some time prior to this attack gas was discharged, in conjunction with a smoke and high-explosive shell bombardment. When at 7:55 A. M. on July 19 our infantry advanced behind a barrage of smoke and high explosive, the enemy was expecting only a gas discharge, and had in many cases put on gas masks.

The capture of Meteren was followed shortly after midnight on July 28-29 by a boldly conceived operation by the 1st Australian Division, which resulted in the capture of Merris, with 187 prisoners.

### (9) ON THE FRENCH FRONT

By the end of July the reconstitution of the British armies had been completed. The spirit of the men was as high as ever, and the success of their various local operations had had a good effect. I had once more at my command an effective striking force, capable of taking the offensive with every hope of success when the proper moment should arrive.

Meanwhile, events of the most critical importance had been taking place on the French front.

The British General Staff had always held the opinion that before the resumption of the enemy's main offensive on the Arras-Amiens-Montdidier front the attack on our northern flank in Flanders would be followed by a similar attack on the southern flank of the allied armies. This view had proved correct. Though probably delayed by his unexpectedly extensive commitments in the Lys battle, at the end of May the enemy had developed his plan of operations on the lines which we had foreseen, and had launched a violent surprise attack on the Aisne front. In this attack certain British divisions which had been sent there to rest became involved from the outset.

### (10) OPERATIONS OF THE NINTH CORPS IN THE AISNE BATTLE

At the end of April and early in May the 8th, 21st, 25th, and 50th Divisions, subsequently reinforced by the 19th Division, and constituting the 9th British Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir A. Hamilton-Gordon, had been placed at Marshal Foch's disposal, as noted above. These divisions had been dispatched by him to the French Sixth Army, to take the place of certain French divisions concentrated behind Amiens.

Of these divisions, the 19th, (Major Gen. G. D. Jeffreys,) 21st, (Major Gen. D. G. M. Campbell,) 25th, (Major Gen. Sir E. G. Bainbridge,) and 50th Divisions, (Major Gen. H. C. Jackson,) had taken part in both the Somme battle and the battle of the Lys. The 8th Division (Major Gen. W. C. G. Heneker) had been involved south of the Somme in some of the heaviest fighting of the year, and had behaved with distinguished gallantry. All these divisions had but lately been filled



up with young drafts, and, despite their high spirit and gallant record, were in no condition to take part in major operations until they had had several weeks' rest. During the first fortnight in May three of these divisions—the 21st, 8th, and 50th—were put into line on a front of about fifteen miles between Bermicourt and Bouconville, northwest of Rheims.

About May 26 prisoners taken by the French gave the first definite information regarding the great offensive launched by the enemy on the Aisne front on the morning of May 27. This attack, delivered by twenty-eight German divisions, supported by tanks, was directed against the Sixth French Army on a front of about thirty-five miles northwest of Rheims. It involved the whole of the 9th British Corps, as well as the French corps holding the Chemin des Dames on the left of the British sector.

Preceded by an artillery and trench mortar bombardment of great intensity, the German infantry broke into the battle positions of the allied divisions. The enemy gained a footing on the Chemin des Dames at an early hour, and, pressing on in the centre of his attack in overwhelming strength, forced the line of the Aisne on a wide front. By nightfall he had crossed the Vesle west of Fismes, and in the British sector, after very heavy and determined fighting, had compelled the left and centre of the 9th Corps, now reinforced by the 25th Division, to swing back to a position facing west and northwest between the Aisne and the Vesle.

On May 28 and following days the enemy launched fresh attacks in great force on the whole battlefield, pressing back our allies to west of Soissons and south of Fère en Tardenois. The 9th British Corps, greatly reduced in numbers by severe and incessant fighting, was forced to withdraw across the Vesle, and thence gradually pressed back in a southeasterly direction between the Vesle and the Ardre. During the night of May 28-29 the 19th Division was brought up in buses, and put in to fill a gap in the French line across the Ardre Valley, deploying with great skill and steadiness. By the evening of May 30, at which date in the centre of his attack the enemy had reached the Marne, the rate of his advance in the British sector had begun to slacken.

During the next few days, however, fighting was still intense. On the southern and western portions of the battlefield the enemy made deep progress, gaining the north bank of the Marne from Dormans to Château-Thierry, and advancing astride the Aisne to the outskirts of the Villers Cotterets Forest, and across the high ground northeast of Attichy. On the eastern flank of the salient created by the enemy's advance, the British forces, at this date under command of the French Fifth Army, withdrew gradually to the line Aubilly-Chembrecy-Boujacourt, where they were able to consolidate. Though the enemy's attacks continued persistently

for some time longer, and on June 6 culminated in two determined attempts upon the important position known as the Montagne de Bligny, which commands the valley of the Ardre, all these attacks were most gallantly repulsed, and the enemy's advance definitely stayed.

Throughout this long period of incessant fighting against greatly superior numbers the behavior of all arms of the British forces engaged was magnificent. What they achieved is best described in the words of the French General under whose orders they came, who wrote of them: "They have enabled us to establish a barrier against which the hostile waves have beaten and shattered themselves. This none of the French who witnessed it will ever forget."

## (II) THE SECOND BATTLE OF THE MARNE

While our troops were still engaged in the fighting southwest of Rheims a fresh battle had broken out on June 7 on the French front between Noyon and Montdidier. In this case the enemy did not succeed in effecting a surprise, but the strain thrown upon the French armies by these two attacks was considerable, and the situation was such that the German command might reasonably be expected to endeavor to develop it with all the means at their disposal.

While, on the one hand, at the beginning of July it was known that Prince Rupprecht's reserve group of divisions about Douai and Valenciennes were still intact and opposite the British front, on the other hand, for a number of reasons it was believed at French General Headquarters that the Germans were about to attack in strength east and west of Rheims. It was apprehended, indeed, that the attack might spread even further east into the Argonne and might endanger a wide sector of the French position. Marshal Foch accordingly withdrew the whole of the French forces, some eight divisions, from Flanders, and transferred them southward to the French front. In addition he asked that four British divisions might be moved, two of them to areas south of the Somme and two to positions astride that river, so as to insure the connection between the French and British Armies about Amiens and to enable him to move four French divisions further east to his right flank. After carefully weighing the situation, I agreed to this proposal, and immediate orders were given for the movement.

On July 13 a further request was received from Marshal Foch that these four British divisions might be placed unreservedly at his disposal and that four other British divisions might be dispatched to take their places behind the junction of the allied armies. This request was also agreed to, and the 15th, 34th, 51st, and 62d British Divisions, constituting the 22d Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir A. Godley, were accordingly sent down to the French front.



Meanwhile, on July 15, the enemy had launched his expected attack east and southwest of Rheims, and after making some progress at first and effecting the passage of the Marne, was held by the French, American, and Italian forces on those fronts. On July 18 Marshal Foch launched the great counter-offensive which he had long been preparing on the front between Château-Thierry and Soissons, supporting this successful stroke by vigorous attacks also on other parts of the German salient. In this fighting the 22d British Corps speedily became involved.

#### (12) OPERATIONS BY THE 22D CORPS

On July 20 the 51st and 62d Divisions of the 22d Corps, under command of Major Gens. G. T. C. Carter-Campbell and W. P. Braithwaite, respectively, attacked in conjunction with the French on the eastern side of the salient southwest of Rheims. The sector assigned to the British troops covered a front of 8,000 yards astride the Ardre River, and consisted of an open valley bottom, with steep wooded slopes on either side. Both valley and slopes were studded with villages and hamlets, which were for the most part intact and afforded excellent cover to the enemy.

On this front our troops were engaged for a period of ten days in continuous fighting of a most difficult and trying nature. Throughout this period steady progress was made, in the face of vigorous and determined resistance. Marfaux was taken on July 23, and on July 28 British troops retook the Montagne de Bligny, which other British troops had defended with so much gallantry and success two months previously. In these operations, throughout which French artillery and tanks rendered invaluable assistance, the 51st and 62d Divisions took 1,200 prisoners from seven different German divisions and successfully completed an advance of over four miles.

Meanwhile, on July 23, the 15th and 34th Divisions, under command of Major Gens. H. L. Reed and C. L. Nicholson, respectively, attacked on the west side of the salient in the neighborhood of Berzy-le-Sec and Parcy-Tigny, southwest of Soissons. These divisions also had many days of heavy and continuous fighting on different parts of this front until withdrawn during the first days of August, and acquitted themselves very gallantly side by side with their French comrades in arms. Many prisoners were taken by both divisions, and the 15th Division in particular earned distinction in the fierce struggle for Bancy.

### PART II.

#### THE PERIOD OF OFFENSIVE ACTION

#### (13) SITUATION AT END OF JULY

The definite collapse of the ambitious offensive launched by the enemy on July 15

and the striking success of the allied counter-offensive south of the Aisne effected a complete change in the whole military situation. The German Army had made its effort, and had failed. The period of its maximum strength had been passed, and the bulk of the reserves accumulated during the Winter had been used up. On the other hand, the position of the Allies in regard to reserves had greatly improved. The fresh troops made available during the late Spring and early Summer had been incorporated and trained. The British Army was ready to take the offensive; while the American Army was growing rapidly, and had already given convincing proof of the high fighting quality of its soldiers.

At a conference held on July 23, when the success of the attack of July 18 was well assured, the methods by which the advantage already gained could be extended were discussed in detail. The allied Commander in Chief asked that the British, French, and American Armies should each prepare plans for local offensives, to be taken in hand as soon as possible, with certain definite objectives of a limited nature. These objectives on the British front were the disengagement of Amiens and the freeing of the Paris-Amiens railway by an attack on the Albert-Montdidier front. The rôle of the French and American Armies was to free other strategic railways by operations further south and east.

In addition to the disengagement of Amiens, the situation on the British front presented strong arguments in favor of certain other schemes, such as the disengagement of Hazebrouck by the recapture of Kemmel Hill, combined with an operation in the direction of La Bassée. If successful, such an operation would have the effect of improving our position at Ypres and Calais. The Lys salient would be reduced, and the safety of the Bruay coal mines become less threatened.

These different operations had already been the subject of correspondence between Marshal Foch and myself, as well as of the earnest consideration of the British General Staff. Ultimately, I had come to the conclusion that of the tasks assigned to the British forces the operation east of Amiens should take precedence as being the most important and the most likely to give large results.

It would depend upon the nature of the success which might be obtained in these different allied operations whether they could be more fully exploited before Winter set in. It was subsequently arranged that attacks would be pressed in a converging direction towards Mézières by the French and American Armies, while at the same time the British armies, attacking toward the line St. Quentin-Cambrai, would strike directly at the vital lateral communications running through Maubeuge to Hirson and Mézières, by which alone the German forces



on the Champagne front could be supplied and maintained.

As a secondary result of the advance of the British armies toward the all-important railway centres about Maubeuge, the group of German armies in Flanders would find their communications threatened from the south, and any operations which it might be possible for the Allies to undertake in that theatre at a later date would be powerfully assisted thereby. It was obviously of vital importance to the enemy to maintain intact his front opposite St. Quentin and Cambrai, and for this purpose he depended on the great fortified zone known as the Hindenburg line.

#### (14) GENERAL SCHEME OF BRITISH OPERATIONS

The brilliant success of the Amiens attack was the prelude to a great series of battles, in which, throughout three months of continuous fighting, the British armies advanced without a check from one victory to another. The progress of this mighty conflict divides itself into certain stages, which themselves are grouped into two well-defined phases.

(A) During the first part of the struggle the enemy sought to defend himself in the deep belt of prepared positions and successive trench systems which extended from the springtide of the German advance, about Albert and Villers Bretonneux to the Hindenburg line between St. Quentin and the Scarpe. From these positions, scene of the stubborn battles of the two preceding years, the German armies were forced back step by step by a succession of methodical attacks which culminated in the breaking through of the Hindenburg line defenses.

(B) Thereafter, during the second period of the struggle, our troops were operating in practically open country against an enemy who endeavored to stand, on such semi-prepared or natural defensive positions as remained to him, for a period long enough to enable him to organize his retreat and avoid overwhelming disaster. The final stages of our operations, therefore, are concerned with the breaking of the enemy's resistance on these lines.

Throughout this latter period, the violence of our assaults and the rapidity of our advance toward the enemy's vital centres of communication about Maubeuge threatened to cut the main avenues of escape for the German forces opposite the French and American Armies. The position of the German armies in Flanders, themselves unable to withstand the attacks of the Allied forces operating under the King of the Belgians, was equally endangered by our progress behind their left flank. To the south and north of the area in which our victorious armies were driving forward through his weakening defense, the enemy was compelled to execute hasty withdrawals from wide tracts of territory.

The second phase had already reached its legitimate conclusion when the signing of the armistice put an end to hostilities. Finally defeated in the great battles of the 1st and 4th of November and utterly without reserves, the enemy at that date was falling back without coherent plan in widespread disorder and confusion.

### FIRST PHASE

#### FIGHTING IN INTRENCHED POSITIONS

*Aug. 8-12*

#### (15) PLAN OF OPERATIONS

The plan of the Amiens operation was to strike in an easterly and southeasterly direction, using the Somme River to cover the left flank of our advance, with the object in the first place of gaining the line of the Amiens outer defenses between Le Quesnel and Mericourt sur Somme, thereby freeing the main Paris-Amiens railway. Having gained the Amiens defense line, the attack was to proceed without delay toward Roye, and to include the capture as soon as possible of the important railway junction of Chaumes, thereby cutting the communications of the German forces in the Lassigny and Montdidier areas. If all went well, French troops would be in readiness to co-operate by pressing the enemy southeast of Montdidier.

Preliminary instructions to prepare to attack east of Amiens at an early date had been given to the Fourth Army commander, General Rawlinson, on July 13, and on July 28 the French First Army, under command of General Debeney, was placed by Marshal Foch under my orders for this operation. Further to strengthen my attack, I decided to reinforce the British Fourth Army with the Canadian Corps, and also with the two British divisions which were then held in readiness astride the Somme. In order to deceive the enemy and to insure the maximum effect of a surprise attack, elaborate precautions were taken to mislead him as to our intentions and to conceal our real purpose.

Instructions of a detailed character were issued to the formations concerned, calculated to make it appear that a British attack in Flanders was imminent. Canadian battalions were put into line on the Kemmel front, where they were identified by the enemy. Corps headquarters were prepared, and casualty clearing stations were erected in conspicuous positions in this area. Great activity was maintained also by our wireless stations on the First Army front, and arrangements were made to give the impression that a great concentration of tanks was taking place in the St. Pol area. Training operations, in which infantry and tanks co-operated, were carried out in this neighborhood on days on which the enemy's long-distance



reconnaissance and photographic machines were likely to be at work behind our lines.

The rumor that the British were about to undertake a large and important operation on the northern front quickly spread. In the course of our subsequent advances convincing evidence was obtained that these different measures had had the desired effect, and that the enemy was momentarily expecting to be attacked in strength in Flanders.

Meanwhile, the final details for the combined British and French attack had been arranged early in August, and the date for the assault fixed for the morning of the 8th. The front held by the Australian Corps on the right of the British line was extended southward to include the Amiens-Roye road, and the Canadian Corps was moved into position by night behind this front. The assembly of tanks and of the Cavalry Corps was postponed until the last moment and carried out as secretly as possible.

Partly as the result of successful minor operations of the Allies, and partly in consequence of the change in the general situation, the enemy during the first days of August withdrew from the positions still held by him west of the Avre and Ancre Rivers. These movements did not affect our plans, but, on the other hand, a strong local attack launched by the enemy on Aug. 6 south of Morlancourt led to severe fighting, and undoubtedly rendered the task of the 3d Corps more difficult.

#### (16) THE TROOPS EMPLOYED

The front of attack of General Rawlinson's Fourth Army extended for a distance of over eleven miles from just south of the Amiens-Roye road to Morlancourt exclusively. The troops employed were: On the right the Canadian Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir A. W. Currie, with the 3d, 1st, and 2d Canadian Divisions in line, and the 4th Canadian Division in close support; in the centre the Australian Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir J. Monash, with the 2d and 3d Australian Divisions in line and the 5th and 4th Australian Divisions in support; on the left, north of the Somme, the 3d Corps, under the command of Lieut. Gen. Sir R. H. K. Butler, with the 58th and 18th Divisions in line and the 12th Division in support.

The attack of the French First Army, under General Debeney, was timed to take place about an hour later than the opening of the British assault, and was delivered on a front between four and five miles between Morcuil inclusive and the British right. As the allied troops made progress the right of the French attack was to be gradually extended southward until the southern flank of the allied battle front rested on Braches.

Behind the British front the British Cavalry Corps, consisting of three cavalry divisions under command of Lieut.-Gen. Sir C. T. McM. Kavanagh, was concentrated at zero hour east of Amiens. A special mobile force

of two motor machine-gun brigades and a Canadian cyclist battalion, under command of Brig. Gen. Brutinel, had orders to exploit success along the lines of the Amiens-Roye road.

#### (17) THE BATTLE OPENED

At 4:20 A. M. on Aug. 8th our massed artillery opened intense fire on the whole front of attack, completely crushing the enemy's batteries, some of which never succeeded in coming into action. Simultaneously, British infantry and tanks advanced to the assault. The enemy was taken completely by surprise, and under cover of a heavy ground mist our first objectives, on the line Demuin, Marcelcave, Cerisy, south of Morlancourt, were gained rapidly.

After a halt of two hours on this line by the leading troops, infantry, cavalry, and light tanks passed through and continued the advance, the different arms working in co-operation in the most admirable manner. At the close of the day's operations our troops had completed an advance of between six and seven miles. The Amiens outer defense line, including the villages of Caix, Harbonnières, and Morcourt, had been gained on the whole front of attack, except at Le Quesnel itself. Cavalry and armored cars were in action well to the east of this line, and before dawn on Aug. 9 Le Quesnel also had been taken. North of the Somme the enemy was more alert as the result of the recent engagements in this sector, and succeeded by heavy fighting in maintaining himself for the time being in the village of Chipilly.

East of the line of our advance the enemy at nightfall was blowing up dumps in all directions, while his transport and limbers were streaming eastward toward the Somme, offering excellent targets to our airmen, who made full use of their opportunities. Over 13,000 prisoners, between 300 and 400 guns, and vast quantities of ammunition and stores of all kinds remained in our possession.

The brilliant and predominating part taken by the Canadian and Australian Corps in this battle is worthy of the highest commendation. The skill and determination of these troops proved irresistible, and at all points met with rapid and complete success. The fine performance of the cavalry throughout all stages of the operation also deserves mention. Having completed their assembly behind the battlefield by a series of night marches, on the first day of the attack they advanced twenty-three miles from their points of concentration, and by the dash and vigor of their action, both on this and subsequent days, rendered most valuable and gallant service. The general success of all arms was made possible by the good staff work of my own staff at General Headquarters, and of the staffs of the armies concerned. Under the able and experienced direction of the Fourth Army commander, General Raw-



linson, the preparations for the battle, including detailed artillery arrangements of an admirable nature, were carried out with a thoroughness and completeness which left nothing to chance. Without this excellent staff work neither the rapid concentration of troops, unknown to the enemy, nor the success of our initial assault and its subsequent development could have been accomplished.

Meanwhile, at 5:55 A. M., the attack of the French First Army had been launched successfully, and gained the line Pierrepont-Plessier-Fresnoy, all inclusive, in touch with Brutinel's Force on the Amiens-Roye road west of Le Quesnoy. Three thousand three hundred and fifty prisoners and many guns were taken by the French forces on this day.

### (18) THE ADVANCE CONTINUED

The sweeping character of this success, which in one day had gained our first objective and disengaged the Paris-Amiens railway, opened a clear field for the measures of exploitation determined upon to meet such an event.

The attack was continued on Aug. 9. After meeting with considerable opposition on the line Beaufort-Vrely-Rosières-Framerville, the enemy's resistance weakened under the pressure of our troops, and once more rapid progress was made. The 8th Hussars, 1st Cavalry Division (Major Gen. R. L. Mulens) took Meharicourt at a gallop; the 2d and 3d Cavalry Divisions (Major Gens. T. T. Pitman and A. E. W. Harman) also passed through our advancing infantry, capturing a number of prisoners and gaining much ground. That night we held Bouchoir, Rouvroy, Morcourt, and Framerville, and were on the western outskirts of Lihons and Proyart.

North of the Somme the 3d Corps, including the 12th Division (Major Gen. H. W. Higginson) and a regiment of the 33d American Division, (Major Gen. G. Bell,) attacked in the late afternoon and gained a line east of Chipilly, Morlancourt, and Dernancourt.

During the following days our operations continued successfully in close co-operation with the French. By the evening of Aug. 12 our infantry had reached the old German Somme defenses of 1916, on the general line west of Damery, east of Lihons, east of Proyart, having repulsed with severe loss determined counterattacks in the neighborhood of Lihons. North of the Somme we were on the western outskirts of Bray-sur-Somme.

Montdidier had fallen to the French two days earlier, and on the whole front from the Oise River to the Roye road at Andechy our allies had made deep and rapid progress.

On the night of Aug. 12, as has been seen, our advance east of Amiens had reached the general line of the old Roye-Chaulnes defenses. The derelict battle area which now lay before our troops, seared by old trench lines, pitted with shell holes, and crossed in all directions with tangled belts of wire,

the whole covered by the wild vegetation of two years, presented unrivaled opportunities for stubborn machine-gun defenses.

Attacks carried out on Aug. 13 proved the strength of these positions, and showed that the enemy, heavily reinforced, was ready to give battle for them. I therefore determined to break off the battle on this front, and transferred the front of attack from the Fourth Army to the sector north of the Somme, where an attack seemed unexpected by the enemy. My intention was for the Third Army to operate in the direction of Bapaume, so as to turn the line of the old Somme defenses from the north. The French First Army now ceased to be under my command.

Meanwhile, south of the Somme, our pressure was to be maintained, so as to take advantage of any weakening on the part of the enemy and encourage in him the belief that we intended to persist in our operations on that front. During the succeeding days local attacks gave us possession of Damery, Parvillers, and Fransart, and made progress also at other points.

### (19) THE RESULTS OF THE BATTLE OF AMIENS

The results of the battle of Amiens may be summarized as follows: Within the space of five days the town of Amiens and the railway centring upon it had been disengaged. Twenty German divisions had been heavily defeated by thirteen British infantry divisions and three cavalry divisions, assisted by a regiment of the 23d American Division and supported by some four hundred tanks. Nearly 22,000 prisoners and over 400 guns had been taken by us and our line had been pushed forward to a depth of some twelve miles in a vital sector. Further, our deep advance, combined with the attacks of the French armies on our right, had compelled the enemy to evacuate hurriedly a wide extent of territory to the south of us.

The effect of this victory, following so closely after the allied victory on the Marne, upon the morale both of the German and British troops was very great. Buoyed up by the hope of immediate and decisive victory, to be followed by an early and favorable peace, constantly assured that the allied reserves were exhausted, the German soldiery suddenly found themselves attacked on two fronts and thrown back with heavy losses from large and important portions of their earlier gains. The reaction was inevitable and of a deep and lasting character.

On the other hand, our own troops felt that at last their opportunity had come, and that, supported by a superior artillery and numerous tanks, they could now press forward resolutely to reap the reward of their patient, dauntless, and successful defense in March and April. This they were eager to do, and as they moved forward during the ensuing months, from one success to another, suffer-



ing, danger, and losses were alike forgotten in their desire to beat the enemy, and their confidence that they could do so.

Meanwhile, as a further and immediate result of our successes, the enemy was thrown back definitely upon a defensive policy, and began to straighten out the salients in his line. Between Aug. 14 and 17 he withdrew from his positions about Serre, and further north indications multiplied of an intention shortly to abandon the salient in the Lys Valley. Our patrols were already beginning to push forward on this front, and on the night of Aug. 13-14 established posts south and east of Vieux Berquin. On Aug. 18 and 19 the capture of Outtersteene village and ridge, with some 900 prisoners, by the 31st, 29th, and 9th Divisions of the Second Army, hastened the enemy's movements on the Lys.

## THE BATTLE OF BAPAUME

*Aug. 21-Sept. 1*

### (20) SCHEME OF OPERATIONS

In deciding to extend the attack northward to the area between the Rivers Somme and Scarpe, I was influenced by the following considerations:

The enemy did not seem prepared to meet an attack in this direction, and, owing to the success of the Fourth Army, he occupied a salient the left flank of which was already threatened from the south. A further reason for my decision was that the ground north of the Ancre River was not greatly damaged by shellfire, and was suitable for the use of tanks. A successful attack between Albert and Arras in a southeasterly direction would turn the line of the Somme south of Péronne, and gave every promise of producing far-reaching results. It would be a step forward toward the strategic objective St. Quentin-Cambrai.

This attack, moreover, would be rendered easier by the fact that we now held the commanding plateau south of Arras about Bucquoy and Ablainzavelle, which in the days of the old Somme fighting had lain well behind the enemy's lines. In consequence we were here either astride or to the east of the intricate systems of trench lines which, in 1916, we had no choice but to attack frontally, and enjoyed advantages of observation which at that date had been denied us.

It was arranged that on the morning of Aug. 21 a limited attack should be launched north of the Ancre to gain the general line of the Arras-Albert railway, on which it was correctly assumed that the enemy's main line of resistance was sited. The day of Aug. 22 would then be used to get troops and guns into position on this front and to bring forward the left of the Fourth Army between the Somme and the Ancre. The principal attack would be delivered on Aug. 23 by the Third Army and the divisions of the Fourth Army north of the Somme, the remainder of the Fourth Army assisting by pushing forward south of the river, to

cover the flank of the main operation. Thereafter, if success attended our efforts, both armies were to press forward with the greatest vigor and exploit to the full any advantage we might have gained.

As soon as the progress of the Third Army had forced the enemy to fall back from the Mercatel spur, thereby giving us a secure southern flank for an assault upon the German positions on Orange Hill and about Monchy le Preux, the moment arrived for the First Army to extend the front of our attack to the north. Using the River Sensée to cover their left, in the same way as the River Somme had been used to cover the left of the Fourth Army in the battle of Amiens, the right of the First Army attacked east of Arras, and, by turning from the north the western extremity of the Hindenburg line, compelled the enemy to undertake a further retreat. It was calculated correctly that this gradual extension of our front of attack would mislead the enemy as to where the main blow would fall, and would cause him to throw in his reserves piecemeal.

### (21) OPENING ATTACKS; ALBERT

At 4:55 A. M. on Aug. 21 the 4th and 6th Corps of General Sir Julian Byng's Third Army, under command, respectively, of Lieut. Gen. Sir G. M. Harper and Lieut. Gen. Sir J. A. L. Haldane, attacked on a front of about nine miles north of the Ancre, from Miraumont to Moyenneville.

The opening assault was delivered by the divisions then in line—namely, the 42d, New Zealand, and 37th Divisions of the 4th Corps, and the 2d and Guards Divisions of the 6th Corps, supported by tanks—and carried the enemy's foremost defenses rapidly and without difficulty. The 5th Division and 63d Division (Major Gen. C. E. Lawrie) of the 4th Corps and the 3d Division (Major Gen. C. J. Deverell) of the 6th Corps then passed through and continued the advance. During this stage the thick fog, which at first had favored us, led to some loss of direction. None the less, after much hard fighting, particularly about Achiet-le-Petit and Logeast Wood, where the enemy counterattacked vigorously, our troops reached the general line of the railway on practically the whole front, capturing the above-named village and wood, together with Courcelles and Moyenneville, east of which places they crossed the railway.

The 21st Division of the 5th Corps assisted by clearing the north bank of the Ancre about Beaucourt, and as a result of the whole operation the positions we required from which to launch our principal attack were gained successfully, with more than 2,000 prisoners.

Early next morning the 3d Corps of the Fourth Army, assisted by a small number of tanks, attacked with the 47th, 12th, and 18th Divisions, the 3d Australian Division and



the 38th Division co-operating on either flank. By this attack, in which the 18th Division (Major Gen. R. P. Lee) forced the passage of the River Ancre and captured Albert by a well-executed enveloping movement from the southeast, our line between the Somme and the Ancre was advanced well to the east of the Bray-Albert road. The left of the Fourth Army was brought forward in conformity with the remainder of our line, and more than 2,400 prisoners and a few guns were taken by us.

## (22) THE MAIN ATTACK LAUNCHED

These preliminary attacks cleared the way for the main operation. This was opened on Aug. 23 by a series of strong assaults on practically the whole front of thirty-three miles from our junction with the French north of Lihons to Mercatel, in which neighborhood the Hindenburg line from Quéant and Bullecourt joined the old Arras-Vimy defense line of 1916. About one hundred tanks were employed by us on different parts of this front and were of great assistance, particularly in overcoming the enemy's machine gunners. Many of these fought with great determination, continuing to fire until their guns were run over by the tanks.

On the eve of these operations I issued a note of instructions to the forces under my command, in which I drew attention to the favorable change which had taken place in the conditions under which operations were being conducted and emphasized the necessity for all ranks to act with the utmost boldness and resolution. Wherever the enemy was found to be giving way there the pressure was to be increased.

To this appeal all ranks and all services responded during the strenuous fighting of the succeeding weeks with a whole-hearted and untiring devotion, for which no words of mine can adequately express my admiration and my gratitude. Divisions which in the worst days of the March retreat had proved themselves superior to every hardship, difficulty, and danger once more rose to the occasion with the most magnificent spirit. Over the same ground that had witnessed their stubborn greatness in defense they moved forward to the attack with a persistent vigor and relentless determination which neither the extreme difficulty of the ground nor the obstinate resistance of the enemy could diminish or withstand.

At 4:45 A. M. the Australian Corps attacked south of the Somme, employing the 32d Division, (Major Gen. T. S. Lambert,) composed of men of Lancashire, Dorset, and Scotland, and the 1st Australian Division, (Major Gen. T. W. Glasgow,) and captured Herleville, Chuignolles, and Chuignes, with over 2,000 prisoners. The fighting about Chuignolles, on the Australian front, was very heavy and great numbers of the enemy were killed.

At the same hour the 18th Division and the right brigade of the 38th Division of the 3d and 5th Corps recommenced their

attacks about Albert, and by a well-executed operation, entailing hard fighting at different points, captured the high ground east of the town known as Tara and Usna Hills. At the same time two companies of the Welsh regiment, part of the left brigade of the 38th Division, waded the Ancre in the neighborhood of Hamel, and with great gallantry maintained themselves all day east of the river against constant counterattacks.

Meanwhile, at different hours during the morning, the other divisions of the 5th Corps and the 4th and 6th Corps, (comprising respectively the 17th and 21st Divisions; the 42d, New Zealand, 5th and 37th Divisions, and the 2d, 3d, Guards, 56th, and 52d Divisions,) attacked along the whole front north of Albert, directing the chief weight of their assault upon the sector Miraumont-Boiry Becquerelle.

Our troops met with immediate success. On the right progress was made by light forces of the 17th and 21st Divisions along the left bank of the Ancre north of Thiepval, but in this sector no deep advance was attempted during the day.

North of the Ancre the attack of the 6th Corps was opened at 4 A. M., at which hour the 3d Division took Gomlecourt and 500 prisoners. During the morning the attack spread along the front of the 4th Corps also. The enemy's main line of resistance was stormed and, penetrating deeply beyond it, our troops captured Bihucourt, Ervillers, Boyelles, and Boiry Becquerelle, together with over 5,000 prisoners and a number of guns. Under the continued pressure of our attacks the enemy was becoming disorganized and showed signs of confusion.

Our troops were now astride the Arras-Bapaume road, and closing down upon the latter town from the north and northwest. The position of the German divisions in the pronounced salient on the Thiepval Ridge was becoming perilous.

At 1 A. M. on the night of Aug. 23-24 the Third and Fourth Armies again attacked, and during the early morning the advance was resumed on the whole front from the Somme to Neuville Vitasse. On the right, the 3d Australian Division took Bray-sur-Somme, and the 47th Division, (Major Gen. Sir G. T. Goringe,) the 12th and 18th Divisions of the 3d Corps carried our line forward across the high ground between Bray and La Boisselle. In the neighborhood of the latter village and at certain other points heavy fighting took place, and a number of prisoners were taken.

On the front of the Third Army the same divisions which had delivered the attacks on the previous day again moved forward against the beaten enemy and pressed him back rapidly. The German positions on the Thiepval Ridge were carried by a well-conceived and admirably-executed concentric attack, directed upon the high ground about Pozieres from the southwest and northwest. In this brilliant operation a brigade of the



38th Division, attacking on the right, crossed the Ancre at Albert during the early part of the night, and formed up close to the German lines on a narrow front between the Albert-Pozières road and the marshes of the Ancre. The left brigade of the same division waded breast-deep through the flooded stream opposite Hamel, under heavy fire, and formed up in the actual process of a German counterattack along the line held by the two companies who had crossed on the previous morning. At the given hour, the brigades of the 38th Division advanced in concert with the other divisions of the 5th Corps on their left, and drove the enemy from the high ground about Ovillers and Thiepval. Continuing their advance, the divisions of the 5th Corps gained Pozières, Courcellette, and Martinpuich. Miraumont, which for three days had resisted our attacks, was taken by the 42d Division (Major Gen. A. Solly-Flood) with many prisoners, and, pressing forward, the same division seized Pys. The 5th Division (Major Gen. J. Ponsonby) having captured Irles, cleared Loupart Wood in co-operation with the New Zealand Division, (Major Gen. Sir A. H. Russell,) tanks rendering valuable assistance to our infantry in both localities. New Zealand troops having taken Grevillers, reached Avesnes-les-Bapaume, and assisted also in the capture of Biefvillers by the 37th Division, (Major Gen. H. B. Williams.) Strong opposition was encountered on the high ground between Sapiègnies and Mory. Our troops pressed the enemy in these villages closely, and further north the Guards Division (Major Gen. G. P. T. Fielding) gained possession of St. Leger. On the left, troops of the 56th Division (Major Gen. Sir C. P. A. Hull) had heavy fighting about Croisilles and on the high ground northwest of that village known as Henin Hill. Important progress was made, and on their left the 52d Division (Major Gen. J. Hill) took Henin-sur-Cojeul and gained a footing in St. Martin-sur-Cojeul.

Several thousand prisoners, many guns, and great quantities of material of every kind were captured by us on this day.

### (23) BAPAUME TAKEN

During the next five days our troops followed up their advantage hotly, and in spite of increasing resistance from the German rearguards realized a further deep advance. The enemy clung to his positions in the later stages of this period with much tenacity. His infantry delivered many counterattacks, and the progress of our troops was only won by hard and determined fighting.

During these days the 37th Division cleared Favreuil late in the evening of Aug. 25, after much confused fighting. On the same day the 2d Division captured Sapiègnies and Behagnies, taking a number of prisoners, and the 62d Division drove the enemy from Mory.

On Aug. 27 the 18th Division secured possession of Trones Wood, after an all-day struggle, in the course of which troops of the

2d Guard Division, fresh from reserve, made strong but unsuccessful counterattacks. Next day the 12th Division and 58th Division (Major Gen. F. W. Ramsay) captured Hardecourt, and the spur south of it, overcoming strong resistance. Both on Aug. 27 and 28 the 58th (Welsh) Division (Major Gen. T. A. Cubitt) was engaged in bitter fighting about Longueval and Delville Wood, and made progress in company with the 17th Division (Major Gen. P. R. Robertson) attacking toward Flers.

Yielding before the persistent pressure of our attacks, in the early morning of Aug. 29 the enemy evacuated Bapaume, which was occupied by the New Zealand Division. On the same day the 18th Division entered Comblès, while to the north of Bapaume a gallant thrust by the 56th and 57th Divisions penetrated the enemy's positions as far as Rencourt-lez-Cagnicourt. Though our troops were unable at this time to maintain themselves in this village, our line was established on the western and northern outskirts of Bullecourt and Hendecourt.

By the night of Aug. 30 the line of the Fourth and Third Armies north of the Somme ran from Cléry-sur-Somme past the western edge of Marrières Wood to Comblès, Les-boeufs, Hancourt, Fremicourt, and Vraucourt, and thence to the western outskirts of Ecoust, Bullecourt, and Hendecourt. Any further advance would threaten the enemy's line south of Péronne along the east bank of the Somme, to which our progress north of the river had already forced him to retreat.

This latter movement had been commenced on Aug. 26, on which date Roye was evacuated by the enemy, and next day had been followed by a general advance on the part of the French and British forces between the Oise and the Somme. By the night of Aug. 29 allied infantry had reached the left bank of the Somme on the whole front from the neighborhood of Nesle, occupied by the French on Aug. 28, northward to Péronne. Further south the French held Noyon.

### (24) FIGHT FOR MONT ST. QUENTIN AND CAPTURE OF PERONNE

During these days an increase in hostile artillery fire, and the frequency and strength of the German counterattacks indicated that our troops were approaching positions on which the enemy intended to stand, at any rate for a period. In the face of this increased resistance, by a brilliant operation commenced on the night of Aug. 30-31, the 2d Australian Division (Major Gen. C. Rosenthal) stormed Mont St. Quentin, a most important tactical feature commanding Péronne and the crossing of the Somme at that town. Being prevented by floods and heavy machine-gun fire from crossing the river opposite Mont St. Quentin, the 5th Australian Infantry Brigade was passed across the Somme at Feuillères, two miles further west, by means of hastily constructed bridges. By 10:15 P. M. on Aug. 30, the brigade had cap-



tured the German trenches east of Cléry, and was assembled in them ready for an assault which would turn the German positions from the northwest. At 5 A. M. on Aug. 31 the assault was launched, and, despite determined opposition, was completely successful. Both in the attack itself and in the course of repeated counterattacks, delivered with great resolution by strong hostile forces throughout the remainder of the day and the greater part of the following night, fighting was exceptionally severe, and the taking of the position ranks as a most gallant achievement.

In this operation nearly 1,000 prisoners were taken, and great numbers of the enemy were killed. On Sept. 1, as a direct consequence of it, Australian troops captured Péronne.

In support of the operation against Mont St. Quentin, on the morning of Aug. 31 the left of the Fourth Army (the 3d Australian, 58th, 47th, and 18th Divisions) attacked toward Bouchavesnes, Rancourt, and Fregicourt, and by successful fighting on this and the following day captured these villages with several hundred prisoners. On the Third Army front also there was hard fighting on both of these days. At the close of it we held Sailly Saillisel, Morval, Beaulencourt, and Reincourt-les-Bapaume, and were established on the ridges east of Baucourt, Fremicourt, Vaulx Vraucourt, and Longatte. Troops of the 17th Corps, under command of Lieut. Gen. Sir C. Ferguson, completed the capture of Bullecourt and Hendecourt, and following up their advantage, during the night took Rencourt-les-Cagnicourt with 380 prisoners.

#### (25) THE RESULTS OF THE BATTLE OF BAPAUME

Sept. 1 marks the close of the second stage in the British offensive. Having in the first stage freed Amiens by our brilliant success east of that town, in the second stage the troops of the Third and Fourth Armies, comprising 23 British divisions, by skillful leading, hard fighting, and relentless and unremitting pursuit, in ten days had driven 35 German divisions from one side of the old Somme battlefield to the other, thereby turning the line of the River Somme. In so doing they had inflicted upon the enemy the heaviest losses in killed and wounded, and had taken from him over 34,000 prisoners and 270 guns. For the remarkable success of the battle of Bapaume the greatest credit is due to the excellence of the staff arrangements of all formations and to the most able conduct of the operations of the Third Army by its commander, General Byng.

In the obstinate fighting of the last few days the enemy had been pressed back to the line of the Somme River and the high ground about Rocquigny and Beaupny, where he had shown an intention to stand for a time. Thereafter his probable plan was to retire slowly, when forced to do so,

from one intermediary position to another, until he could shelter his battered divisions behind the Hindenburg defenses. The line of the Tortille River and the high Nurlu Plateau offered opportunities for an ordered withdrawal of this nature, which would allow him to secure his artillery, as well as much of the material in his forward dumps.

On the other hand, the disorganization which had been caused by our attacks on Aug. 8 and 21 had increased under the pressure of our advance, and had been accompanied by a steady deterioration in the morale of his troops. Garrisons left as rear-guards to hold up our advance at important points had surrendered as soon as they found themselves threatened with isolation. The urgent needs of the moment, the wide extent of front attacked, the consequent uncertainty as to where the next blow would fall, and the extent of his losses had forced the enemy to throw in his reserves piecemeal as they arrived on the battlefield. On many occasions in the course of the fighting elements of the same German division had been identified on widely separated parts of the battlefield.

In such circumstances, a sudden and successful blow, of weight sufficient to break through the northern hinge of the defenses to which it was his design to fall back, might produce results of great importance. At this date, as will be seen from the events described in Paragraph 27, our troops were already in position to deliver such a stroke.

#### (26) THE WITHDRAWAL FROM THE LYS SALIENT

Meanwhile, during the progress of the great events briefly recorded above and in immediate consequence of them, other events of different but scarcely less importance were taking place on the northern portion of our front.

The exhaustion of the enemy's reserves resulting from the allied attacks made the shortening of the German line imperative. The obvious sector in which to effect such a shortening was the Lys front. The enemy had only maintained himself in the Lys salient under the constant fire of our guns at the expense of heavy casualties, not only to his infantry in line, but to his artillery and troops in back areas. With the abandonment of his projected offensive against the Channel ports, all reason had gone for remaining in so costly a salient, while the threat, carefully maintained by us, of a British attack provided an additional reason for withdrawing.

Accordingly, from about July 26 the enemy had been actively employed in removing the ammunition and stores accumulated for his offensive, and as early as Aug. 5 he had begun to effect local withdrawals on the southern flank of the salient.

The development of our own and the French offensive hastened this movement,



although immense quantities of ammunition still remained untouched. On Aug. 18 our patrols, whose activity had been constant, were able to make a considerable advance opposite Merville. Next day Merville itself was taken, and our line advanced on the whole front from the Lawe River to the Plate Becque.

During the following days various other small gains of ground were made by us on the southern and western faces of the salient, but on the northern face the enemy as yet showed no signs of withdrawal, the various local operations carried out by us meeting with strong resistance. On the night of Aug. 29-30, however, impelled alike by the pressure exerted without remission by our troops on the spot and by the urgency of events elsewhere, the enemy commenced an extensive retirement on the whole of the Lys front.

In the early morning of Aug. 30 our troops found Bailleul unoccupied, and by the evening of that day our advanced detachments had reached the general line Lacouture, Lestrem, Noote Bloom, east of Bailleul.

Thereafter the enemy's withdrawal continued rapidly. At certain points, indeed, his rearguards offered vigorous resistance, notably about Neuve Eglise and Hill 63, captured with a number of prisoners by the 36th and 29th Divisions, but by the evening of Sept. 6 the Lys salient had disappeared. Kemmel Hill was once more in our hands, and our troops had reached the general line Givenchy, Neuve Chapelle, Nieppe, Ploegsteert, Voormezele.

## THE BATTLE OF THE SCARPE

*Aug. 26-Sept. 3*

### (27) RETAKING MONCHY-LE-PREUX

By Aug. 25 our advance had formed a salient of the German positions opposite Arras, and the proper moment had therefore come for the third stage of our operations, in which the First Army should extend the flank of our attack to the north. By driving eastward from Arras, covered on the left by the Rivers Scarpe and Sensée, the First Army would endeavor to turn the enemy's positions on the Somme battlefield and cut his system of railway communications which ran southwestward across their front.

At 3 A. M., on Aug. 26, the Canadian corps, Lieut. Gen. Sir A. W. Currie commanding, on the right of General Horne's First Army, attacked the German positions astride the Scarpe River with the 2d and 3d Canadian Divisions (commanded by Major Gens. Sir H. E. Burstall and L. J. Lipsett) and the 51st Division. This attack, delivered on a front of about  $5\frac{1}{4}$  miles and closely supported by the left of the Third Army, was completely successful. By noon we had taken Wancourt and Guemappe, and had stormed the hill and village of Monchy-le-Preux. This latter position was one of great natural strength, well organized for

defense, and commanded observation of much importance. Many prisoners were taken, and later in the day substantial progress was made to the east of these three villages, a strong counterattack east of Monchy being successfully repulsed. North of the Scarpe the 51st Division pushed forward their line towards Roeux, so as to secure an easily defensible base of departure for this advance, and by a successful attack during the evening captured Greenland Hill.

Their opening success was followed up by the troops of the First Army with the greatest energy, and on the following day Cherisy, Vis-en-Artois, the Bois du Sart, Roeux, and Gavrelle were taken. By the end of the month they had gained the high ground east of Cherisy and Haucourt, had captured Eterpigny, and cleared the area between the Sensée and Scarpe Rivers, west of the Trinquis Brook. North of the Scarpe, Plouvain was held by us. Our progress brought our troops to within assaulting distance of the powerful trench system running from the Hindenburg line at Quéant to the Lens defenses about Drocourt, the breaking of which would turn the whole of the enemy's organized positions on a wide front southward.

### (28) THE STORMING OF THE DROCOURT-QUEANT LINE

On Sept. 2 the Drocourt-Quéant line was broken, the maze of trenches at the junction of that line and the Hindenburg system was stormed and the enemy was thrown into precipitate retreat on the whole front to the south of it. This gallant feat of arms was carried out by the Canadian Corps of the First Army, employing the 1st and 4th Canadian Divisions and the 4th English Division, and the 17th Corps of the Third Army, employing the 52d, 57th, and 63d Divisions.

The assault of the Canadians was launched at 5 A. M. on a front of about four and one-half miles south of the Trinquis Brook, our infantry being supported by forty tanks of the 3d Tank Brigade and assisted by a mobile force of motor machine-gun units, Canadian cavalry, and armored cars. The attack was a complete success, and by noon the whole of the elaborate system of wire, trenches, and strong points constituting the Drocourt-Quéant line on the front of our advance was in our hands.

On the right the attack of the 17th Corps, launched at the same hour by the 52d and 57th Divisions, directed its main force on the triangle of fortifications marking the junction of the Hindenburg and Drocourt-Quéant lines northwest of the village of Quéant. Pressed with equal vigor it met with success equally complete. There was stern fighting in the network of trenches both north and south of Quéant, in which neighborhood the 52d (Lowland) Division performed distinguished service and by the progress they made greatly assisted our advance further north. Early in the afternoon our troops had



cleared the triangle, and the 63d Division (Major Gen. C. A. Blacklock) had passed through to exploit the success thus gained.

During the afternoon our further progress met with considerable resistance from machine-gun nests sited in woods and villages and on the reverse slopes of the Dury Ridge. There was hard fighting until dusk, especially on the front of the 63d Division and of the 4th Division, (Major Gen. L. J. Lipsett.) By nightfall this opposition had been overcome, the 63d Division had reached the railway east of Quéant, and the 57th Division, swinging to the right, was threatening that village and Pronville from the north. Our troops had pushed forward to a depth of over three miles along the Arras-Cambrai road and had reached the outskirts of Buissy. Cagnicourt, Villers-les-Cagnicourt, and Dury were in our hands. During the day 8,000 prisoners had been taken and many guns.

Troops of the Third and Fourth Armies prolonged the line of attack as far south as Péronne. At all points important progress was made, though fighting was severe.

In the battle of the Scarpe, as in the battles of Amiens and Bapaume and the victories that followed them, staff work of a high order played an important part in our success. The greatest credit is due to the First Army commander, General Horne, and his staff for the excellence of their arrangements.

### (29) THE ENEMY IN RETREAT

The result of the battles of Amiens, Bapaume, and the Scarpe now declared itself.

During the night of Sept. 2-3 the enemy fell back rapidly on the whole front of the Third Army and the right of the First Army. By the end of the day he had taken up positions along the general line of the Canal du Nord from Péronne to Ypres, and thence east of Hermies, Inchy-en-Artois, and Ecourt St. Quentin to the Sensée east of Lecluse. On the following day he commenced to withdraw also from the east bank of the Somme south of Péronne, and by the night of Sept. 8 was holding the general line Vermand, Epéhy, Havrincourt, and thence along the east bank of the Canal du Nord.

The withdrawal was continued on the front of the French forces on our right. On Sept. 6 French troops occupied Ham and Chauny, and by Sept. 8 had reached the line of the Crozat Canal.

Throughout this hasty retreat our troops followed up the enemy closely. Many of his rearguards were cut off and taken prisoner; on numerous occasions our forward guns did great execution among his retiring columns, while our airmen took full advantage of the remarkable targets offered them. Great quantities of material and many guns fell into our hands.

In the battle of the Scarpe itself, in which ten British divisions attacked and overthrew thirteen German divisions, thereby giving the signal for this general retreat, our total

captures amounted to over 16,000 prisoners and about 200 guns.

### (30) THE BATTLE OF HAVRINCOURT AND EPEHY

Sept. 12-18

North of Havrincourt, the Canal du Nord, behind which the enemy had taken shelter, with the open slopes leading down to it swept by the fire of the German positions on the east bank, could scarcely be taken except by a carefully organized attack.

From the neighborhood of Havrincourt southward the enemy's main line of resistance was the well-known Hindenburg line, which, after passing through that village, ran southeast across the Beaucamp, La Vacquerie, and Bonavis Ridges to the Scheldt Canal at Bantouzelle, whence it followed the line of the canal to St. Quentin. In front of this trench system strong German forces held formidable positions about Havrincourt and Epéhy, which had to be taken before a final attack on the Hindenburg line could be undertaken. By successful operations carried out during the second and third weeks of September these different defenses were secured and our line advanced to within assaulting distance of the enemy's main line of resistance.

On Sept. 12 the 4th and 6th Corps of the Third Army attacked on a front of about five miles in the Havrincourt sector, employing troops of the New Zealand, 37th, 62d, and 2d Divisions. The villages of Trescault and Havrincourt were taken by the 37th and 62d Divisions respectively, and positions were secured which were of considerable importance in view of future operations.

On the right of the British front the 9th and Australian Corps continued to push forward with light forces. By the evening of Sept. 17, as the result of skillful manoeuvring and well-executed local attacks, they had captured Holnon Village and Wood and Massemey, and were closely approaching Le Verguier and Templeux-le-Guerard.

The next day, at 7 A. M., Sept. 18, the Fourth and Third Armies attacked in heavy rain on a front of about seventeen miles from Holnon to Gouzeaucourt, the First French Army co-operating south of Holnon. A small number of tanks accompanied our infantry, and were of great assistance.

In this operation our troops penetrated to a depth of three miles through the deep, continuous and well-organized defensive belt formed by the old British and German lines. On practically the whole front our objectives were gained successfully, the 1st, 17th, 21st, and 74th Divisions (Major Gen. E. S. Birdwood commanding the 74th Division) and the 1st and 4th Australian Divisions (the latter commanded by Major Gen. E. Sinclair-Maclagan) distinguishing themselves by the vigor and success of their attack. On the extreme right and in the left centre about Epéhy the enemy's resistance was very de-



terminated, and in these sectors troops of the 6th, 12th, 18th, and 58th Divisions had severe fighting. Before nightfall, however, the last centres of resistance in Epéhy were reduced, and both in this area and on our right about Gricourt local actions during the succeeding days secured for us the remainder of the positions required for an attack on the main Hindenburg defenses.

At the close of these operations, in which fifteen British Divisions defeated twenty German Divisions and completed the fourth stage of our offensive, we had captured nearly 12,000 prisoners and 100 guns.

### (31) THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALLIED PLAN

The details of the strategic plan outlined in Paragraph 13 upon which future operation should be based were the subject of careful discussion between Marshal Foch and myself. Preparations were already far advanced for the successful attack by which, on Sept. 12, the First American Army, assisted by certain French divisions, drove the enemy from the St. Mihiel salient and inflicted heavy losses upon him in prisoners and guns. Ultimately it was decided that as soon as possible after this attack four convergent and simultaneous offensives should be launched by the Allies as follows:

By the Americans west of the Meuse in the direction of Mézières;

By the French West of Argonne in close co-operation with the American attack and with the same general objectives;

By the British on the St. Quentin-Cambrai front in the general direction of Maubeuge;

By Belgian and allied forces in Flanders in the direction of Ghent.

By these attacks it was expected, as already indicated, that the important German forces opposite the French and Americans would be pressed back upon the difficult country of the Ardennes, while the British thrust struck at their principal lines of communication. In Flanders it was intended to take advantage of the weakening of the German forces on this front to clear the Bel-

gian coast by a surprise attack. Success in any one of these offensives might compel the enemy to withdraw to the line of the Meuse.

### (32) THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH ARMIES

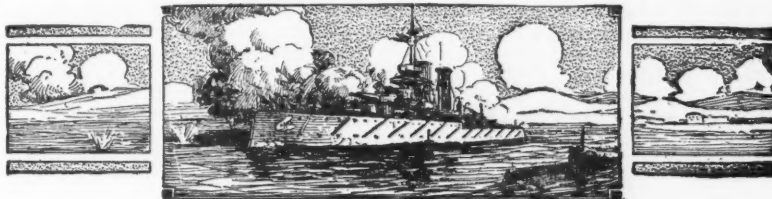
The results to be obtained from these different attacks depended in a peculiarly large degree upon the British attack in the centre. It was here that the enemy's defenses were most highly organized. If these were broken the threat directed at his vital systems of lateral communications would of necessity react upon his defense elsewhere.

On the other hand, the long period of sustained offensive action through which the British armies had already passed, had made large demands both upon the troops themselves and upon my available reserves. Throughout our attacks from Aug. 8 onward our losses in proportion to the results achieved and the number of prisoners taken had been consistently and remarkably small. In the aggregate, however, they were considerable, and in the face of them an attack upon so formidably organized a position as that which now confronted us could not be lightly undertaken. Moreover, the political effects of an unsuccessful attack upon a position so well known as the Hindenburg line would be large and would go far to revive the declining morale not only of the German Army, but of the German people.

These different considerations were present to my mind. The probable results of a costly failure, or, indeed, of anything short of a decided success in any attempt upon the main defenses of the Hindenburg line, were obvious; but I was convinced that the British attack was the essential part of the general scheme and that the moment was favorable.

Accordingly, I decided to proceed with the attack, and all preparatory measures, including the preliminary operations already recounted, were carried out as rapidly and as thoroughly as possible.

[Conclusion in Next Issue.]





# Campaign That Liberated Palestine

## General Allenby's Official Report of the Battles That Wrested Damascus From the Turks

[In this dispatch General Allenby for the first time uses the "New Army Time Reckoning," which avoids the use of "A. M." and "P. M." by running the clock hours up to 24 o'clock, beginning with 00:01 to designate one minute after midnight, and ending with 23:59 to designate one minute before the ensuing midnight. This Italian system was adopted by the British Army in the Autumn of 1918.]

GENERAL E. E. H. ALLENBY, Commander in Chief of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, described his last campaign in Palestine and Syria, with the final overthrow of the Turks, in a dispatch sent to the British War Office under date of Oct. 31, 1918, though not made public until Dec. 30. In this report he took up the story of the Egyptian expedition at the point where his dispatch of Sept. 18 had left off. He began with the following summary of the enemy's forces:

At the beginning of September I estimated the strength of the Fourth, Seventh, and Eighth Turkish Armies to be 23,000 rifles, 3,000 sabres, and 340 guns. The Fourth Army, 6,000 rifles, 2,000 sabres, and 74 guns, faced my forces in the Jordan Valley. The Seventh Army held a front of some twenty miles astride the Jerusalem-Nablus road with 7,000 rifles and 111 guns, while the Eighth Army front extended from Furkhah to the sea and was held by 10,000 rifles and 157 guns. In addition the garrison of Maan and the posts of the Hedjaz Railway north of it consisted of some 6,000 rifles and 30 guns.

The enemy's general reserve, only 3,000 rifles in strength, with 30 guns, was distributed between Tiberias, Nazareth, and Haifa. Thus his total strength amounted to some 4,000 sabres, 32,000 rifles, and 400 guns—representing a ration strength, south of the line Rayak-Beirut, of 104,000.

I had at my disposal two cavalry divisions, two mounted divisions, seven infantry divisions, an Indian infantry brigade, four unalotted battalions, and the French detachment, (the equivalent of an infantry brigade, with other arms attached,) a total, in the fighting line, of some 12,000 sabres, 57,000 rifles, and 540 guns. I had thus a considerable superiority in numbers over the enemy, especially in mounted troops.

I was anxious to gain touch with the Arab forces east of the Dead Sea, but the experience gained in the raids which I had undertaken against Amman and Es Salt in March and May had proved that the communications of a force in the hills of Moab were liable to interruption as long as the enemy

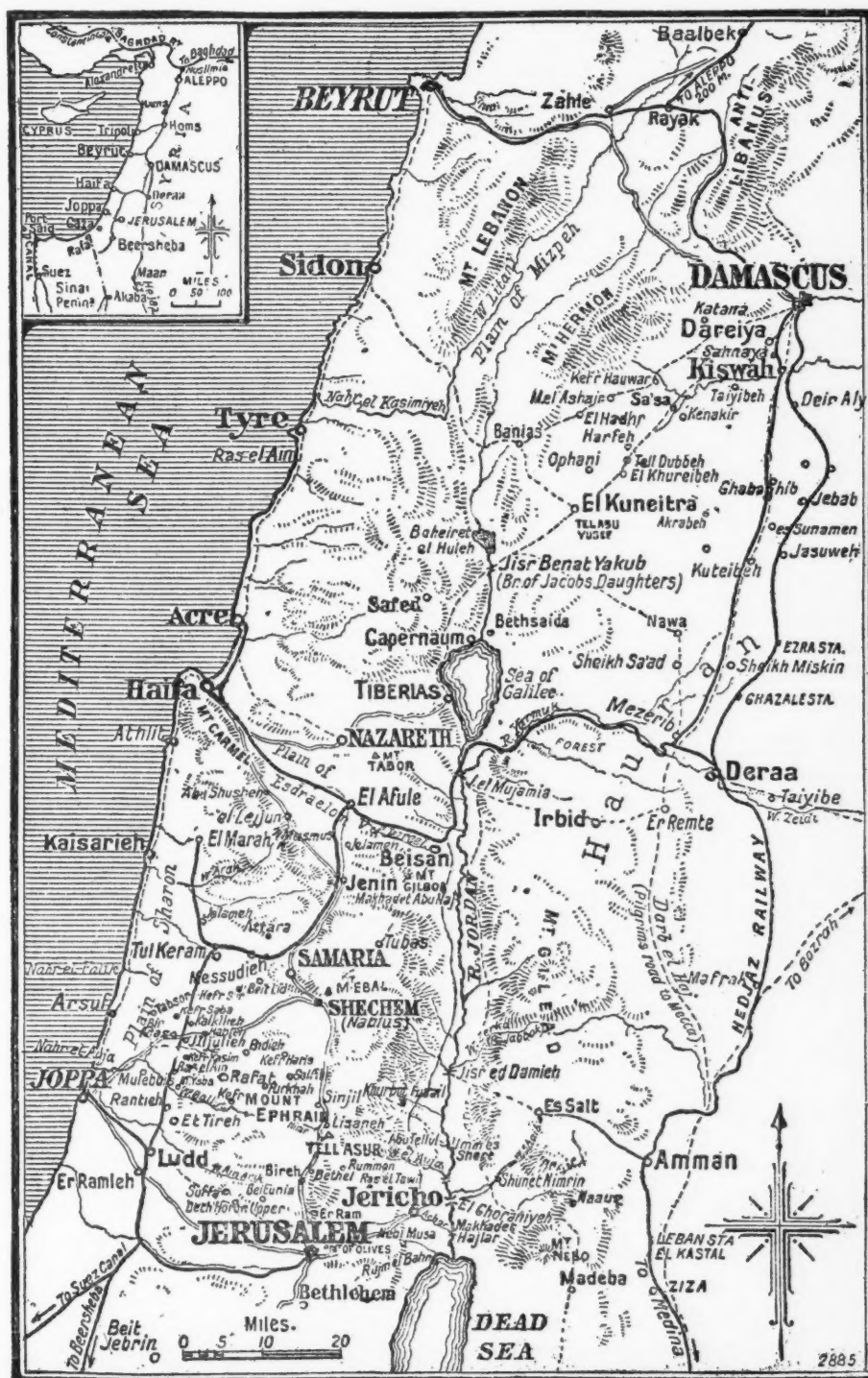
was able to transfer troops from the west to the east bank of the Jordan. This he was in a position to do, as he controlled the crossing at Jisr ed Damieh. The defeat of the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies west of the Jordan would enable me to control this crossing. Moreover, the destruction of these armies, which appeared to be within the bounds of possibility, would leave the Fourth Army isolated, if it continued to occupy the country south and west of Amman. I determined, therefore, to strike my blow west of the Jordan.

### PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

With the exception of a small reserve, the whole military force of the Turk was west of the Jordan, and the vital points of his communication were El Afule, Besian, and Deraa. If these could be reached he would be cut off. Deraa was beyond Allenby's reach, but his Arab Army could get to it and destroy the railway junction there. El Afule, in the Plain of Esdraelon, and Beisan, in the Valley of Jezreel, were within reach of the British cavalry if the infantry could break a gap in the Turkish defenses. For this reason General Allenby decided to deliver his main attack in the coastal plain rather than through the hills north of Jerusalem. He continues:

The coastal plain at Jiljulieh, the ancient Gilgal, is some ten miles in width. The railway from Jiljulieh to Tul Keram skirts the foothills, running through a slight depression on the eastern edge of the plain. To the west of this depression the Turks had constructed two defensive systems. The first, 14,000 yards in length and 3,000 in depth, ran along a sandy ridge in a northwesterly direction from Bir Adas to the sea. It consisted of a series of works connected by continuous fire trenches. The second, or Et Tireh system, 3,000 yards in rear, ran from the village of that name to the mouth of the Nahr Falik. On the enemy's extreme right the ground, except for a narrow strip along the coast, is marshy, and could only be crossed in few places. The defense of the





SCENE OF GENERAL ALLENBY'S FINAL AND VICTORIOUS CAMPAIGN



second system did not, therefore, require a large force.

The railway itself was protected by numerous works and by the fortified villages of Jiljulieh and Kalkileh. The ground between our front line at Ras El Ain and these villages was open, and was overlooked from the enemy's works on the foothills round Keir Kassim.

By reducing the strength of the troops in the Jordan Valley to a minimum, and by withdrawing my reserves from the hills north of Jerusalem, I was able to concentrate five divisions and the French detachment, with a total of 383 guns, for the attack on these defenses. Thus, on the front of the attack I was able to concentrate some 35,000 rifles, against 8,000, and 383 guns, against 130. In addition, two cavalry and one Australian mounted divisions were available for this front.

The task of attacking the enemy's defenses in the coastal plain was intrusted to Lieut. Gen. Sir Edward Bulfin, commanding the 21st Corps, with four extra divisions, the French detachment, an Australian light horse brigade, two brigades of mountain artillery and eighteen batteries of heavy and siege artillery. This force, mainly infantry, was ordered to break through and drive the enemy northward into the arms of the British cavalry at El Afule. Lieut. Gen. Sir Harry Chauvel, commanding the Desert Mounted Corps, was meanwhile to advance along the coast, seize El Afule, and be ready there to cut off the enemy's retreat and to send a detachment to attack Nazareth, the site of the Turks' general headquarters. Lieut. Gen. Sir Philip Chetwode with the 20th Corps was to advance and block the exits to the lower Valley of the Jordan, while Major Gen. Sir Edward Chaytor, to keep the enemy from perceiving the withdrawal of cavalry divisions from the Jordan Valley, was ordered to make a series of demonstrations threatening an attack east of the Jordan.

#### ENEMY TAKEN BY SURPRISE

General Allenby states that the enemy remained absolutely in ignorance of the coming attack on the coastal plain until the blow fell. He continues:

In the early hours of Sept. 19 El Afule and the headquarters of the Turkish Seventh and Eighth Armies at Nablus and Tul Keram were bombed by the Royal Air Force with a view to disorganizing their signal communications.

At 04.30 the artillery in the coastal plain

opened an intense bombardment, lasting fifteen minutes, under cover of which the infantry left their positions of deployment. Two torpedo boat destroyers assisted, bringing fire on the coastal road to the north.

The operations which followed fall into five phases.

The first phase was of short duration. In thirty-six hours, between 04.30 on Sept. 19 and 17.00 on Sept. 20 the greater part of the Eighth Turkish Army had been overwhelmed, and the troops of the Seventh Army were in full retreat through the hills of Samaria, whose exits were already in the hands of my cavalry.

In the second phase the fruits of this success were reaped. The infantry, pressing relentlessly on the heels of the retreating enemy, drove him into the arms of my cavalry, with the result that practically the whole of the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies were captured, with their guns and transport.

This phase also witnessed the capture of Haifa and Acre, and the occupation of Tiberias and of the country to the south and west of the Sea of Galilee.

As the result of the rout of the Seventh and Eighth Armies the Fourth Turkish Army, east of the Jordan, retreated, and Maan was evacuated.

The third phase commenced with the pursuit of this army by Chaytor's Force, and closed with the capture of Amman and the interception of the retreat of the garrison of Maan, which surrendered.

The fourth phase witnessed the advance by the Desert Mounted Corps to Damascus, the capture of the remnants of the Fourth Turkish Army, and the advance by the 21st Corps along the coast from Haifa to Beirut.

In the fifth phase my troops reached Homs and Tripoli without opposition. My cavalry then advanced on Aleppo and occupied that city on Oct. 26.

#### COAST FORCE OVERWHELMED

The attack in the coastal plain on the morning of Sept. 19 was attended with complete success. On the right, in the foothills, the French Tirailleurs and the Armenians of the Légion d'Orient advanced with great dash, and, in spite of the difficulties of the ground and the strength of the enemy's defenses, had captured the Kh. Deir El Kussis ridge at an early hour. On their left the 54th Division stormed Keir Kassim village and wood and the foothills overlooking the railway from Ras El Ain to Jiljulieh. North of Keir Kassim the advance was checked for a time at Sivri Tepe, but the enemy's resistance was quickly overcome and the remaining hills south of the Wadi Kanah captured.

In the coastal plain the 3d (Lahore) Division attacked the enemy's first system between Bir Adas and the Hadrah road. On its left the 75th Division attacked the Tabsor defenses, the 7th (Meerut) Division the works west of Tabsor, while the 60th Division at-



tacked along the coast. The enemy replied energetically to our bombardment, but in most cases his barrage fell behind the attacking infantry. The enemy was overwhelmed. After overrunning the first system, the three divisions on the left pressed on without pausing to the Et Tireh position. On the left the 60th Division reached the Nahr Falik and moved on Tul Keram, leaving the route along the coast clear for the Desert Mounted Corps. The 7th (Meerut) Division, after passing through the second system, swung to the right and headed for Et Taiyibeh, leaving Et Tireh, where the 75th Division was still fighting, on its right.

By 11.0 the 75th Division had captured Et Tireh, a strongly fortified village standing on a sandy ridge, where the enemy offered a determined resistance. On the right the 3d (Lahore) Division turned to the east and attacked Jiljulieh, Railway Redoubt, Kefr Saba and Kalkilieh, all of which were defended with stubbornness by the enemy. His resistance was, however, broken; and the 3d (Lahore) Division pressed on eastward into the foothills near Hableh, joining hands with the 54th Division north of the Wadi Kanah.

Disorganized bodies of the enemy were now streaming across the plain toward Tul Keram, pursued by the 60th Division and the 5th Australian Light Horse Brigade. This brigade, which had been attached to the 21st Corps, consisted of two Australian light horse regiments, with a composite regiment of Chasseurs d'Afrique and Spahis attached. Great confusion reigned at Tul Keram. Bodies of troops, guns, motor lorries and transport of every description were endeavoring to escape along the road leading to Messudie and Nablus. This road, which follows the railway up a narrow valley, was already crowded with troops and transport. The confusion was added to by the persistent attacks of the Royal Air Force and Australian Flying Corps, from which there was no escape. Great havoc was caused, and in several places the road was blocked by overturned lorries and vehicles. Later in the evening an Australian regiment, having made a detour, succeeded in reaching a hill four miles east of Tul Keram, overlooking the road. As a result, a large amount of transport and many guns fell into our hands.

In the meantime the 7th (Meerut) Division and 3d (Lahore) Division had entered the hills, and, in conjunction with the 54th Division, had pressed eastward. By dusk the line Bidieh-Kh. Kefr Thilth-Jiyus-Felamieh-Taiyibeh had been reached. The 75th Division remained in the vicinity of Et Tireh in corps reserve.

### FIERCE HILL FIGHTING

As soon as the success of the initial attack by the 21st Corps, on the morning of Sept. 19, had become apparent, I ordered the 20th Corps to advance that night on Nablus and the high ground northeast of that town, in order to close the roads leading to the lower

valley of the Jordan, and to drive the enemy from the triangle formed by the Kh. Fusall-Nablus road, our original front line, and the El Funduk-Nablus track, by which the 3d (Lahore) Division was advancing.

The two divisions of the 20th Corps had been concentrated beforehand, in readiness to carry out this operation; the 53d Division to the east of the Bireh-Nablus road, the 10th Division on the extreme left of the Corps Area, in the vicinity of Berukin and Kefr Ain. The enemy had long anticipated an attack astride the Bireh-Nablus road, and had constructed defenses of great strength on successive ridges. For this reason the 10th Division was ordered to attack in a northeasterly direction astride the Furkhah-Selfit and Berukin-Kefr Haris ridges, thus avoiding a direct attack. Even so, the task of the 20th Corps was a difficult one. The enemy in this portion of the field was not disorganized, and was able to oppose a stout resistance to the advance. The country is broken and rugged, demanding great physical exertion on the part of the troops, and preventing the artillery keeping pace with the infantry.

Nevertheless, good progress was made on the night of Sept. 19 and during the following day. The 53d Division captured Kh. Abu Malul, and advanced their line in the centre. On their right Khan Jibelt was heavily counterattacked on the morning of Sept. 20. The Turks succeeded in regaining the hill, but were driven off again after a sharp fight. This incident, and the necessity of making a road to enable the guns to be brought forward, caused delay.

The 10th Division advanced in two columns, and by midday on Sept. 20 the right column, after a hard fight at Furkhah, had reached Selfit and was approaching Iskaka, which was strongly held by the enemy. The left column reached Kefr Haris, which was only captured after heavy fighting. The 10th Division had already driven the enemy back seven miles. The artillery, however, had been unable to keep up with the infantry, and little progress was made during the afternoon.

On the left of the 10th Division the 21st Corps had continued its advance in three columns. On the right the 3d Division advanced up the Wadi Azzun. In the centre the Meerut Division moved on Kefr Sur and Beit Lid. The 60th Division and the 5th Australian Light Horse Brigade advanced along the Tul Keram-Nablus road on Messudie Station. By evening the line Baka-Beit Lid-Messudie Station-Attara had been reached.

The 3d (Lahore) and 7th (Meerut) Divisions encountered a determined and well-organized resistance, which stiffened as the Meerut Division approached Beit Lid. The enemy showed no signs of demoralization, and the country was very rugged and difficult.

Considerable confusion existed, however, behind the enemy's rearguards. All day his transport had been withdrawing. The Mes-



sudie-Jenin road was crowded. Its defiles had been bombed continuously by the Royal Air Force, as had long columns of troops and transport moving on Nablus in order to reach the Beisan road. It is probable that the enemy did not yet realize that my cavalry was already in Afule and Beisan, and had blocked his main lines of retreat.

Early on the morning of Sept. 19, before the infantry had advanced to the attack, the 4th and 5th Cavalry Divisions moved out of the groves round Sarona and formed up in rear of the 7th (Meerut) and 60th Divisions. The Australian Mounted Division, less the 5th Light Horse Brigade, was on its way from Ludd.

### VON SANDERS'S FLIGHT

Thanks to the rapidity with which the infantry broke through both Turkish systems of defense, the cavalry obtained a good start. By noon the leading troops of the Desert Mounted Corps had reached Jelameh, Tell ed Drurh, and Hudeira, eighteen miles north of the original front line. After a brief rest the advance was continued. The 5th Cavalry Division moved north to Ez Zerghaniyeh. It then turned northeast, and, riding through the hills of Samaria past Jarak, descended into the Plain of Esdraelon at Abu Shusheh. The 13th Cavalry Brigade was then directed on Nazareth, the 14th on El Afule.

The 4th Cavalry Division turned northeast at Kh. es Sumrah, and followed the valley of the Wadi Arah into the hills. The valley gradually narrows as the pass at Musmus is reached.

The enemy had sent a battalion from El Afule to hold this pass, but only its advanced guard arrived in time. Overcoming its resistance, the cavalry encountered the remainder of the battalion at El Lejjun. The 2d Lancers charged, killed forty-six with the lance, and captured the remainder, some 470 in number.

The 4th Cavalry Division then marched to El Afule, which it reached at 08.00, half an hour after its capture by the 14th Cavalry Brigade.

In the meantime the 13th Cavalry Brigade of the 5th Cavalry Division, riding across the Plain of Esdraelon, had reached Nazareth, the site of the Yilderim General Headquarters, at 05.30. Fighting took place in the streets, some 2,000 prisoners being captured. Liman von Sanders had already made good his escape, but his papers and some of his staff were taken. This brigade then marched to El Afule, arriving there as the 4th Cavalry Division rode down the Plain of Jezreel to Beisan, which it reached at 16.30, having covered some eighty miles in thirty-four hours. The 4th Cavalry Division detached a regiment to seize the railway bridge over the Jordan at Jisr Mejmie.

The Australian Mounted Division, which had followed the 4th Cavalry Division into the Plain of Esdraelon, was directed on Jenin, where the road from Messudie to El

Afule leaves the hills. Jenin was reached at 17.30, and was captured after a sharp fight, a large number of prisoners being taken.

Thus, within thirty-six hours of the commencement of the battle, all the main outlets of escape remaining to the Turkish Seventh and Eighth Armies had been closed. They could only avoid capture by using the tracks which run southeast from the vicinity of Nablus to the crossings over the Jordan at Jisr ed Damieh. These were being rapidly denied to them.

The first phase of the operations was over. The enemy's resistance had been broken on Sept. 20. On Sept. 21 the Turkish rearguards were driven in early in the morning. All organized resistance ceased. The 5th Australian Light Horse Brigade, with the French Cavalry leading, entered Nablus from the west, the 10th Division from the south. By the evening the 20th Corps had reached the line Neby Belan, on the high ground northeast of Nablus, and Mount Ebal; the 21st Corps the line Samaria, Attara, Belah.

### AIR FORCE BLOCKS RETREAT

Since the early hours of the morning great confusion had reigned in the Turkish rear. Camps and hospitals were being hurriedly evacuated; some were in flames. The roads leading northeast and east from Nablus to Beisan and the Jordan Valley were congested with transport and troops. Small parties of troops were moving east along the numerous wadis. The disorganization which already existed was increased by the repeated attacks of the Royal Air Force; in particular, on the closely packed column of transport moving north from Balata to Kh. Ferweh, where a road branches off, along the Wadi Farah, to Jisr ed Damieh. Some of the transport continued along the road to Beisan, where it fell into the hands of the 4th Cavalry Division. The greater part made for the Jordan along the Wadi Farah. Nine miles from Kh. Ferweh, at Ain Shibleh, a road branches off to the north to Beisan. A mile beyond this point the Wadi Farah passes through a gorge. The head of the column was heavily bombed at this point. The drivers left their vehicles in panic, wagons were overturned, and in a short time the road was completely blocked. Still attacked by the Royal Air Force, the remainder of the column turned off at Ain Shibleh and headed for Beisan.

The Seventh Turkish Army was by this time thoroughly disorganized, and was scattered in the area between the Kh. Ferweh-Beisan road and the Jordan. These parties had now to be collected.

At 01.30 on Sept. 22 the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade and the British West Indies Battalions of Chaytor's Force seized the bridge at Jisr ed Damieh. All hope of escape for the enemy in that direction had vanished.

In the early hours of the morning parties of Turks, of strengths varying from 50 to



300, began to approach Beisan, preceded by white flags.

At 08.00 a column, with transport and guns, ten miles long, was reported by the Royal Air Force to be moving north along the Ain Shibleh-Beisan road, its head being nine miles south of Beisan. The 4th Cavalry Division was ordered to send detachments toward it, and also to patrol the road, which follows the Jordan on its east bank, to secure any parties which might escape across the Jordan.

At the same time the Worcester Yeomanry of the 20th Corps, supported by infantry, was ordered to advance northward from Ain Shibleh, and the infantry of the 10th Division along the Tubas-Beisan road, to collect stragglers, and to drive any formed bodies into the hands of the 4th Cavalry Division.

### TWO ARMIES DESTROYED

The Royal Air Force had proceeded to attack the Turkish column, which broke up and abandoned its guns and transport. The task of clearing the enemy between the Kh. Ferweh-Beisan road and the Jordan was continued during Sept. 23. On this day the 20th Corps Cavalry met with occasional opposition, and its advance was hampered considerably by the large numbers of Turks who surrendered. Great quantities of transport and numerous guns were found abandoned by the roadsides. On one stretch of road, under five miles in length, 87 guns, 55 motor lorries, and 842 vehicles were found.

Numerous bodies of Turks surrendered to the 4th Cavalry Division. One column attempted to escape across the Jordan at Makhadet Abu Naj, five miles southeast of Beisan, but was intercepted by the 11th Cavalry Brigade. Part of the column had already crossed to the east bank. It was charged, by the 36th (Jacob's) Horse and broken up, few escaping. On the west bank the remainder of the column was charged by the 29th Lancers and Middlesex Yeomanry, who killed many and captured the remainder, together with twenty-five machine guns.

On Sept. 24 the 11th Cavalry Brigade attacked and dispersed another column in the Wadi El Maleh. The last remnants of the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies had been collected. As armies they had ceased to exist, and but few had escaped.

While the 4th Cavalry and the Australian Mounted Divisions were collecting the remnants of the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies, I ordered the Desert Mounted Corps to occupy Acre and Haifa. The roads leading to Haifa from Tul Keram are only country tracks, which, in the event of rain, might become impassable for motor lorries at any time. Any force advancing northward from Haifa along the coast would have to depend on supplies landed at that port. It was necessary, therefore, to occupy the town without delay, in order that the harbor could be swept for mines, and the landing of stores taken in hand. The 13th Cavalry Brigade of the 5th Cavalry Division, which had entered

Nazareth on Sept. 20, and had then marched to El Afule, returned to Nazareth the following day.

### HAIFA AND ACRE CAPTURED

Part of the garrison of Haifa, which was attempting to reach Tiberias, was intercepted by this brigade on the morning of Sept. 22. At 01.30 this column approached the outposts of the 13th Cavalry Brigade. It was attacked in the moonlight by the 18th Lancers, who killed a large number of Turks and captured over 300.

That afternoon Haifa was reconnoitred by a battery of armored cars. It was still held by the enemy. The road was barricaded, and the armored cars were shelled from the slopes of Mount Carmel.

On Sept. 23 the 5th Cavalry Division, less the 13th Cavalry Brigade, marched from El Afule to capture the town. The 13th Cavalry Brigade marched direct from Nazareth on Acre.

The road from El Afule to Haifa skirts the northeastern edge of the Mount Carmel range. Some two miles before Haifa is reached the road is confined between a spur of Mount Carmel on the left and the marshy banks of the River Kishon and its tributaries on the right. When the 5th Cavalry Division reached this point on Sept. 23 it was shelled from the slopes of Mount Carmel, and found the road and the river crossings defended by numerous machine guns.

While the Mysore Lancers were clearing the rocky slopes of Mount Carmel the Jodhpur Lancers charged through the defile, and, riding over the enemy's machine guns, galloped into the town, where a number of Turks were speared in the streets. Colonel Thakur Dalpat Singh, M. C., fell gallantly leading this charge. In this operation 1,350 prisoners and 17 guns were taken.

At Acre the 13th Cavalry Brigade met with little opposition. The small garrison, consisting of 150 men and two guns, attempted to escape to the north, but was overtaken and captured.

### EAST JORDAN OPERATIONS

Interest now turned to the fate of the Fourth Turkish Army east of the Jordan. Up till Sept. 22 this army showed no signs of moving from its positions on the east bank. On the west bank the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade and the 1st and 2d Battalions, British West Indies Regiment, had advanced northward on Sept. 21, west of the Jericho-Beisan road, and had reached Khurbet Fusail, four miles in advance of our defenses at El Musalabeh. The enemy, however, still held the bridgeheads on the west bank, covering the crossings at Umm Es Shert, Red Hill, Mafid Jozeleh, and Jisr Ed Damieh. Early in the morning of Sept. 22 the 38th Battalion Royal Fusiliers captured the bridgehead at Umm Es Shert. The New Zealand Mounted Rifles placed themselves astride the road which follows the Wadi Farah from Nablus to Jisr



Ed Damieh, thus closing the last loophole of escape to the Turkish forces west of the Jordan. The crossing at Jisr Ed Damieh was captured a few hours later. The bridge was intact; 514 prisoners were taken.

Thus the west bank of the Jordan had been cleared. As a result of the defeat of the Seventh and Eighth Armies, the position of the Fourth Army east of the Jordan was no longer tenable, and by the morning of Sept. 23 this army was in full retreat on Es Salt and Amman, pursued by the Australian and New Zealand Mounted Division, and bombed by the Royal Air Force. At 16.30 the New Zealanders captured Es Salt, taking 380 prisoners and 3 guns. The pursuit was continued on a broad front, in face of stout opposition from the enemy's rearguards. On Sept. 25 Amman was attacked and captured.

The enemy retreated northward along the Hejaz Railway and the Pilgrim route in a disorganized state, harassed by the Royal Air Force and the Arabs. He was pursued by the Australian and New Zealand Mounted Divisions, and left over 5,000 prisoners and 28 guns in their hands.

I ordered Chaytor's forces to remain at Amman to intercept the troops of the Second Turkish Army Corps, who were retreating from the Hejaz. Maan had been evacuated on Sept. 23, and had been occupied by the Arab Army, which then advanced to Jerdun, harassing the rear of the retreating garrison.

On Sept. 28 these troops came into contact with the patrols of Chaytor's force at Leban Station, ten miles south of Amman. The Turkish commander, seeing that escape was impossible, surrendered on the following day with 5,000 men.

### ADVANCE ON DAMASCUS

In addition to bringing about the retreat of the Fourth Turkish Army, the total defeat of the Seventh and Eighth Armies had removed any serious obstacle to an advance on Damascus. On Sept. 25 I ordered the Desert Mounted Corps to carry out this operation, occupy the city, and intercept the retreat of the remnants of the Fourth Turkish Army.

The Desert Mounted Corps was to advance on Damascus in two columns; one column by the south end of the Sea of Galilee, via Irbid and Deraa, the other round the north end of the sea, via El Kuneitra.

On Sept. 24, Semakh, at the south end of the Sea of Galilee, was captured by the 4th Australian Light Horse Brigade, after fierce hand-to-hand fighting, in which 350 Turks and Germans and a gun were captured. Tiberias was occupied on the following afternoon.

Thus on Sept. 26 the Australian Mounted Division was concentrating around Tiberias, and the 5th Cavalry Division was marching from Haifa and Acre to Nazareth. The 4th Cavalry Division was concentrated around Beisan.

The 4th Cavalry Division started on its 120-mile march that afternoon. The Australian

and 5th Cavalry Divisions started the following day, the distance they had to traverse being thirty miles less. Both columns met with opposition. The Australian Mounted Division experienced considerable difficulty in crossing the Jordan on Sept. 27. The bridge at Jisr Benat Yakub had been damaged, and Turkish rearguards commanded the crossings. After some delay, the 5th Australian Brigade succeeded in crossing the river a mile south of the bridge, and, working around the enemy's flank, forced him to retire. Opposition was again met with on the eastern side of the Jordan plateau, at El Kuneitra, and the column was continually fired on by the Circassians who dwell on the plateau. Passing through El Kuneitra, the column entered first a plateau covered by boulders and then undulating pasture land, intersected by the numerous streams which rise in Mount Hermon. Fighting took place at Sasa, but the enemy's rearguards were driven back, and by 10.00 on Sept. 30, Katana, twelve miles southwest of Damascus, had been reached by the Australian Mounted Division, which was here checked for a time.

### ARAB ARMY'S ACTIVITIES

At this hour the 14th Cavalry Brigade, or the right of the Australian Mounted Division, was approaching Sahnaya on the old French railway. Further south the 4th Cavalry Division, with the Arab Army on its right, was approaching Kiswe.

The route followed by the 4th Cavalry Division across the Jordan plateau had proved difficult, and considerable opposition had been encountered at Irbid, and again at Er Remte, where, after driving the enemy northward toward Mezerib, the cavalry gained touch with the Arab Army.

After its raids on the enemy's railways around Deraa between Sept. 16 and 18, the Arab Army had moved into the Hauran. It issued thence to attack the Fourth Turkish Army as the latter passed Mafrak in its retreat northward, forcing the Turks to abandon guns and transport. Moving rapidly northward, the Arabs then captured the stations of Ezra and Ghazale, between Damascus and Deraa. On Sept. 27 they intrenched themselves at Sheikh Saad, seventeen miles north of Deraa, across the Turkish line of retreat. Sharp fighting took place all day, in which heavy casualties were inflicted on the retreating Turks and Germans and in which numerous prisoners were taken. After breaking up the retreating columns of the Fourth Army the Arabs captured Deraa, and, on Sept. 28, joined hands with the 4th Cavalry Division near Er Remte.

The cavalry then advanced northward through Mezerib and along the old French railway, with the Arabs on its right flank, collecting stragglers, and pressing on the heels of the remnants of the Fourth Turkish Army. In this way a column of Turks some 1,500 strong was driven, at noon on Sept. 30,



into the arms of the 14th Cavalry Brigade at Sahnaya.

Shortly after midday, on Sept. 30, the Australian Mounted Division overcame the enemy's resistance at Katana. By the evening it had closed the exits from Damascus to the north and northwest, while the 5th Cavalry Division had reached the southern outskirts of the town.

### ENTERING DAMASCUS

At 06.00 on Oct. 1 the Desert Mounted Corps and the Arab Army entered Damascus amid scenes of great enthusiasm. After the German and Turkish troops in the town had been collected and guards had been posted, our troops were withdrawn. In the meantime the 3d Australian Light Horse Brigade had proceeded northward in pursuit of bodies of the enemy, which had succeeded in leaving the town on the previous day, or had avoided it and the cordon round it, by making a detour to the east. On Oct. 2 a column was overtaken at Kubbeth I Asafir, seventeen miles northeast of Damascus. This column was dispersed, 1,500 prisoners and three guns being taken.

The advance to Damascus, following on the operations in the Plain of Esdraelon and the Valley of Jezreel, had thrown a considerable strain on the Desert Mounted Corps. Great results were, however, achieved.

On Sept. 26, when the advance began, some 45,000 Turks and Germans were still in Damascus or were retreating on it. It is true that all units were in a state of disorganization, but, given time, the enemy could have formed a force capable of delaying my advance.

The destruction of the remnants of the Fourth Army and the capture of an additional 20,000 prisoners prevented any possibility of this. The remnants of the Turkish Armies in Palestine and Syria, numbering some 17,000 men, of whom only 4,000 were effective rifles, fled northward a mass of individuals, without organization, without transport, and without any of the accessories required to enable it to act even on the defensive.

I determined to exploit this success and to advance to the line Rayak-Beirut. The occupation of Beirut would give me a port, with a road and a railway leading inland to Rayak and Damascus. An alternative and shorter line of supply would thus be obtained.

The Desert Mounted Corps, leaving the Australian Mounted Division at Damascus, moved on Rayak and Zahle on Oct. 5. No opposition was encountered, and both places were occupied on the following day. At Rayak, the junction of the broad-gauge railway from the north and the meter-gauge lines to Beirut and to Damascus and the Hejaz, were found on the aerodrome the remains of thirty airplanes which had been burned by the enemy before he retired. Large quantities of stores and rolling stock were captured, most of the latter in a damaged condition.

### BEIRUT OCCUPIED

In the meantime the 7th (Meerut) Division had marched from Haifa to Beirut. Leaving Haifa on Oct. 3, it marched along the coast. Crossing the Ladder of Tyre, it was received by the populace of Tyre and Sidon with enthusiasm. On Oct. 8 it reached Beirut, where it was warmly welcomed, the inhabitants handing over 660 Turks, including 60 officers, who had surrendered to them. Ships of the French Navy had already entered the harbor.

On Oct. 9 I ordered the Desert Mounted Corps to continue its advance and occupy Homs, leaving one division at Damascus. At the same time I ordered the 21st Corps to continue its march along the coast to Tripoli. Armored cars occupied Baalbek on Oct. 9, taking over 500 Turks who had surrendered to the inhabitants. The 5th Cavalry Division, which led the advance, reached Baalbek on Oct. 11, and, crossing the watershed between the Nahr Litani on the south and the Orontes on the north, followed the valley of the latter river, past Lebwe, and reached Homs on Oct. 15, having marched over eighty miles since leaving Rayak.

The station buildings at Homs had been burned by the enemy before he evacuated the town on Oct. 12.

On the coast, Tripoli was occupied by the 21st Corps Cavalry Regiment and armored cars on Oct. 13. No opposition was encountered. The Corps Cavalry Regiment was followed by a brigade of the 7th (Meerut) Division. The occupation of Tripoli provided a shorter route by which the cavalry at Homs could be supplied.

### FROM HOMS TO ALEPPO

Having secured Homs and Tripoli, I determined to seize Aleppo with the least possible delay. The 5th Cavalry Division and the Armored Car Batteries were alone available. The Australian Mounted Division at Damascus was over 100 miles distant from Homs, and could not be brought up in time. The 4th Cavalry Division at Baalbek was much reduced in strength by sickness, and needed a rest to reorganize. Time was of importance, and I judged that the 5th Cavalry Division would be strong enough for the purpose. The information available indicated the presence of some 20,000 Turks and Germans at Aleppo. Of these, only some 8,000 were combatants, and they were demoralized. Moreover, reports from all sources showed that considerable numbers of the enemy were leaving the town daily by rail for the north.

The armored cars had reached Hama without opposition on Oct. 20. On the following day the 5th Cavalry Division commenced its advance. On Oct. 22 the armored cars reached Khan Sebit, half way between Homs and Aleppo, as the enemy's rearguard left the village in lorries. A German armored car, a lorry, and some prisoners were captured. The enemy were not encountered again till Oct. 24, when a body of cavalry were dispersed at



Khan Tuman, ten miles south of Aleppo. Five miles further on the armored cars were checked by strong Turkish rearguards and had to remain in observation till the cavalry came up.

On the afternoon of Oct. 25 the armored cars were joined by the 15th (Imperial Service) Cavalry Brigade. That evening a detachment of the Arab Army reached the eastern outskirts of Aleppo, and during the night forced their way in, inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy.

Early on the morning of Oct. 26 the armored cars and the 15th Cavalry Brigade, moving around the west side of the town, followed the enemy along the Aleppo-Katma road and gained touch with him southeast of Haritan. The Turkish rearguard consisted of some 2,500 infantry, 150 cavalry, and eight guns. The Mysore Lancers and two squadrons of the Jodhpur Lancers attacked the enemy's left, covered by the fire of the armored cars, the Machine Gun Squadron, and two dismounted squadrons of the Jodhpur Lancers. The Mysore and Jodhpur Lancers charged most gallantly. A number of Turks were speared, and many threw down their arms, only to pick them up again when the cavalry had passed through and their weakness had become apparent. The squadrons were not strong enough to complete the victory, and were withdrawn till a larger force could be assembled.

#### ARMISTICE SIGNED

That night the Turkish rearguard withdrew to position near Deir el Jemel, twenty miles northwest of Aleppo. The 5th Cavalry Division remained in observation, astride the roads leading from Aleppo to Killis and Katma, and occupied Muslimie Junction. It was too weak to continue the advance to Alexandretta till the arrival of the Australian Mounted Division, which had already left Damascus to join it. Before the latter could arrive the armistice between the Allies and Turkey had been concluded, and came into force at noon on Oct. 31.

The 5th Cavalry Division captured fifty prisoners and eighteen guns in Aleppo. The Turks had carried out demolitions on the railway at Aleppo and Muslimie Junction be-

fore retiring, but had left eight engines and over 100 trucks, which, though damaged, are not beyond repair.

Aleppo is over 300 miles from our former front line. The 5th Cavalry Division covered 500 miles between Sept. 19 and Oct. 26, and captured over 11,000 prisoners and fifty-two guns. During this period the 5th Cavalry Division lost only 21 per cent. of its horses.

Between Sept. 19 and Oct. 26 75,000 prisoners have been captured. Of these over 200 officers and 3,500 other ranks are Germans or Austrians.

In addition 360 guns have fallen into our hands and the transport and equipment of three Turkish armies. It is not yet possible to give accurate figures, owing to the rapidity and the extent of the advance. In the first three phases of the operations material and equipment were hastily abandoned by the enemy in a mountainous area, extending over 2,500 square miles, while in the remaining phases a further advance of over 300 miles has been made. The captures, however, include over 800 machine guns, 210 motor lorries, 44 motor cars, some 3,500 animals, 89 railway engines, and 468 carriages and trucks. Of these many are unserviceable, but none have been included that are beyond repair.

General Allenby's report ends with tributes to his staffs and troops. He praises the infantry for breaking through the strong enemy defenses in a few hours, thus enabling the cavalry to accomplish its mission. The Desert Mounted Corps had taken 46,000 prisoners and had been mainly instrumental in destroying the Seventh and Eighth Turkish Armies. General Chaytor's force had taken 10,000 prisoners in the valley of the Jordan and the hills of Moab. The Arab Army also had rendered valuable assistance, both by cutting the enemy's communications and by intercepting portions of the fleeing Fourth Turkish Army north of Deraa, inflicting heavy casualties.





# Massacre of the Greeks in Turkey

## Story of the Tragic Fate of Hundreds of Thousands of Christian Noncombatants in the Levant

*A special correspondent of The London Morning Post, writing from Constantinople on Dec. 5, 1918, summed up the Turkish atrocities against the Greeks as follows:*

**T**HE Greek massacres organized by the Turks and Germans, like the Armenian ones, had for their object the extermination of a race.

Already after the Balkan war and before the great war the deportation of Greeks had begun in Thrace. Under the pretense of finding an asylum for the Mussulmans turned out of Europe after the Balkan wars and of securing the safety of the Asiatic coasts opposite the debated islands of Chios and Mitylene, 250,000 Greeks were expelled and obliged to emigrate to Greece proper, leaving all their possessions behind them. This persecution continued uninterrupted until the outbreak of the European war. Then started the most savage persecution the world has ever known. While the pre-war persecution had for its object the expulsion of the Greeks from Asia Minor and Thrace, the second persecution was intended to stamp out the Greek race in Turkey.

During the first persecution the Greek Government did everything possible to protect their co-nationals, but during the second outbreak King Constantine impeded every possible movement for the amelioration of the lot of that unfortunate race. Reports sent to the Government by dignitaries of the Orthodox Church in Asia Minor were suppressed. Numberless documents dealing with these massacres were stolen from the Government archives and destroyed. On one occasion the Bishop of Pera traveled from Constantinople to Athens for the purpose of imploring the King to protest more energetically. He was not received by the King but by Queen Sophia, who cut the conversation short with the words: "Return immediately to Con-

stantinople. The will of the King is that you live on good terms with the Turks."

### GERMAN GUILT

It is easy to prove the complicity of the Germans in these massacres. In the persecution of the Greeks after the Balkan war the German hand was plainly visible. Von Jagow already in April, 1914, excused this system of persecution by claiming that every Greek in Turkey was a Pan-Hellenist and therefore dangerous to Turkey. The Emperor himself whitewashed the Turks by saying that the persecution was carried out by the baser agents of the Ottoman administration and not by the Government, which was trying to put things in order. German agencies, such as the Deutsche Palestina Bank, were carrying on a virulent propaganda, urging Mussulmans to cultivate hate for the Christians and to have no commercial dealings with them. It was natural that the Germans should support any policy against the Greeks and Armenians, who were the only commercial people in Asia Minor and would therefore be a hindrance to German penetration after the war.

Germany was perfectly aware of the conditions signed at Adrianople in June, 1915, between the Bulgarians and the Turks, for the persecution of the Greek element. The conditions were: (1) The establishment of a Turco-Bulgar commercial union as the complement of the political union. (2) The seizure of the commerce of the Orient from the hands of the Greeks. (3) The establishment in the Orient of Mussulman agencies for the importation and exportation of goods for the exclusive use of Mussulmans, who were to break off all commercial



relations with the Greeks. (4) A restriction of the privileges of the Patriarch and his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. (5) The prohibition of the teaching of Greek in future. (6) The conversion to Islam by force of the people in the Christian settlements and the imposition of mixed marriages.

#### POLICY OF EXTERMINATION

Herr Lepsius, a German, who went out on a special mission to Constantinople, declared in July, 1915, that the Greek and Armenian persecutions were two phases of a single program of extermination of the Christian elements, so that Turkey might become a purely Mussulman State. Talaat and Enver were the real masters of Turkey, and whatever they did was done with the knowledge and connivance of the German Headquarters Staff in Constantinople. The proof of General Liman von Sanders's complicity was apparent, though in a letter written the other day to a Constantinople paper he tries to shift the blame. In March, 1917, M. Kallerghis, the Greek Minister in Constantinople, protested to Talaat, as Grand Vizier, against the deportations of Greeks in the Aivali district. Talaat for once seemed amenable to reason and promised to telegraph to Liman von Sanders telling him to cease the deportations. The German General replied that if the deportations ceased he would not guarantee the safety of the Turkish Army, that military necessities in time of war outweighed political necessities, and that he had referred the matter to the German Grand Headquarters Staff, who entirely approved of his action.

The methods by which the persecution was carried out were: (1) The abolition of privileges; (2) the enrollment of the Christians; (3) contributions and requisitions; (4) forcible conversion to Islamism; (5) deportations; (6) murder. To begin with, the Turkish language was imposed on all schools, and Turkish inspectors drew up a schedule of the hours of work. Turkish geography and history, using Turkish names, had to be taught. The Patriarchy was abolished, as were also the Metropolitan's rights as regards the probate of wills and the

seizure of goods and persons. When the Patriarch protested against the kidnapping of young girls by Turks he was told that he had no right to interfere, as it was a matter which concerned their parents exclusively. When he protested against the deportations from the Marmora coast Talaat replied: "It is not the duty of religious chiefs to mix themselves up in affairs foreign to their jurisdiction, and they would do well to confine themselves to their religious duties." All property held by the Greek civil and religious communities was confiscated and became the property of the State.

#### "MILITARY NECESSITY"

The populations who were the first to suffer were the Greek colonies of Thrace, of the coast of the Sea of Marmora, and of the coast of Asia Minor. The excuse was military necessity. The inhabitants were accused of supplying allied submarines with food and oil. It is quite probable that this was true as regards some of them, but it was no excuse for maltreating and massacring whole populations. The first step was the enrollment of Christians in the army. After the establishment of the Constitution a law was passed by which all Christians up to the age of 31 were liable for military service, those above that age being considered exempt as having already paid the military tax.

On Turkey's entry into the war a decree was signed and promulgated by which all men up to the age of 48 were liable, but those who belonged to the reserve classes could obtain exemption on payment of \$225. The object of this was twofold. Those not accustomed to military service naturally preferred to pay the tax, while those who had not the money either had to sell their poor possessions to raise it rather than undergo the awful treatment they knew was in store for them, or else escape from the country and become deserters. The Turks, however, did not intend to use the Christians for actual warfare.

They were formed into labor battalions and sent into the interior. These battalions were employed in road-mak-



ing, building, excavating the Taurus tunnel, and cultivating the fields and gardens of the Pashas, and were made to march hundreds of miles to all parts of the empire. The burning plains of Mesopotamia tried their emaciated forms as well as the intensely cold mountains of the Caucasus. They died by tens of thousands. Their daily ration was half a loaf of filthy bread, eked out sometimes with a little dried fish or two olives. They had no clothes. Whole battalions died of typhus, cholera, &c. Many were actually massacred by their Turkish guards, who got tired of watching them. A reliable informant tells me that 150,000 Greeks in these battalions died. At Koniah the Christian cemetery was entirely filled with the bodies of these unfortunates, who were buried five and six in each grave.

About two hundred and fifty thousand Greeks from Thrace and the coast of Asia Minor succeeded in escaping to Greece, and forty thousand of these are now serving in the Greek Army in Macedonia. The many desertions gave the Turks an even greater opportunity for atrocities. The property of all deserters was duly seized, and families were deported to the interior. No difference was made between deserters and those expelled by Turks but not removed from the roll. The treatment of families was the same. Owing to there having been 300 desertions in the district of Kerassunda, 88 villages were burned to the ground in the course of three months. About thirty thousand inhabitants, mostly women and children, were obliged to march in midwinter to Angora, and were not allowed to take a single article with them. One-fourth of them died en route. The town of Aivali in December, 1914, was surrounded by Turks. They proceeded to arrest all the men of Greek nationality and to outrage their wives and daughters. The Governor was extremely satisfied and said: "One or two more raids like that and we shall have exterminated the last male. We will then kick the women into the sea."

#### COMMERCE RUINED

Meanwhile, the system of confiscation and requisitioning was bringing Greek

and Armenian commerce to a standstill. Entire fortunes were confiscated under no pretext whatever, and stores were completely pillaged. Any Mussulman had a right to walk into any Christian house and take anything he wanted. A system of contribution also was instituted throughout the land. Under threats of violence and imprisonment each Greek community was forced to contribute large sums for the telephone service, the clothing of the troops, the construction of barracks, the provision of agricultural machinery for Turkish Beys, and the upkeep of the fleet—all this besides the usual heavy taxes.

The Germans then instituted the system of *corvées*. The Christians were obliged to cultivate the lands of the Mussulmans. No time was allowed to them to cultivate their own fields. If they attempted to gather their own harvests or till their own fields a cordon was put round the village, and no one was allowed to leave. The water was then cut off and the people were left without anything to eat or drink. After a few days a band of *Bashi-Bazouks* were sent into the village to pillage and murder, and then the remainder of the population were given the choice of deportation over the mountains to places hundreds of miles distant, or a lingering death from hunger and thirst. Deportations en masse were decided upon by the committee at the beginning of 1915. A conservative estimate fixes the number of deported during the war at 450,000.

#### LAW OF DEPORTATION

The two great centres of Hellenism, Constantinople and Smyrna, alone escaped destruction. The number of Greeks was too great for those colonies to be exterminated. To make matters more sure, a special law on deportation was passed. The Christians were not allowed to live in the Christian villages. They were thrown into prison or sent to labor battalions, while the women and children were sent into the interior, where they were divided up among the Mussulman villages in the proportion of 10 per cent. of the Mussulman population. These were possibly the saddest pilgrimages the world has ever seen. Barefooted,



without food or water, beaten by guards, attacked by brigands, never resting, they wandered on to their distant destination.

Thousands died by the wayside of fatigue and suffering. Mothers gave birth to infants and left them on the road, being compelled to follow the column. They were allowed to take nothing with them, and were forbidden to enter the villages en route to purchase food. As they left their own villages the roofs of the houses burst into flames, the sign that another Greek village had been wiped out. Hundreds of young girls were detained by the Turks and were forcibly converted to Islamism. At Panderma General Liman von Sanders built an orphanage for Christian girls converted to Islam and compelled the Christian population to contribute £10,000 toward its upkeep. With regard to the families placed in Mussulman villages an express order was given that no provisions should be sold to them unless they were converted to Islam. The Christian refugees were only allowed 20 centimes a day until they became converted. After

the deportations from the Marmora and Asiatic coasts it was the turn of the Greek colonies on the Black Sea.

#### TERRIBLE FIGURES

Rafet Pasha, the late Governor of Bitlis, was sent to Samsoun with express orders to become a scourge to the Greeks. He did the work thoroughly. Over a hundred and fifty thousand were deported in this district and in Trebizond. Fearing the fate of the Armenians, hundreds of young girls committed suicide by drowning themselves in the rivers. One hundred and eight villages in the province of Samsoun were entirely evacuated and burned down, but the total number was probably many more, as no report has even yet been received as to the fate of many flourishing villages in the mountains. To sum up, 450,000 Greeks are known to have been deported and are dead; 150,000 were placed in labor battalions and are dead; 250,000 fled from Asia Minor and Thrace to Greece, and 350,000 were deported after the Balkan war and before the great war. And these tragic events, in spite of the armistice, are still happening.

### Hindenburg's Admission That He Faced Surrender

Field Marshal von Hindenburg admitted at the time of the armistice, Nov. 11, 1918, that if Germany refused the armistice terms he would be compelled to surrender to the Allies. A statement to this effect was made before the German National Assembly at Weimar on Feb. 8 by Konstantin Fehrenbach, Vice President of that body. He said that he was present on Nov. 10 at a meeting in the Chancellery at which, after Dr. Solf, the Foreign Secretary, had read the terms of the armistice, a telegram from Field Marshal von Hindenburg was read, in which the German commander requested that the armistice conditions be accepted forthwith, as he could not hold his army together any longer. The army was already deserting him, the Field Marshal declared, and if the allied conditions were not accepted he would be forced to capitulate with his entire forces.





# INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

## A Promise Fulfilled



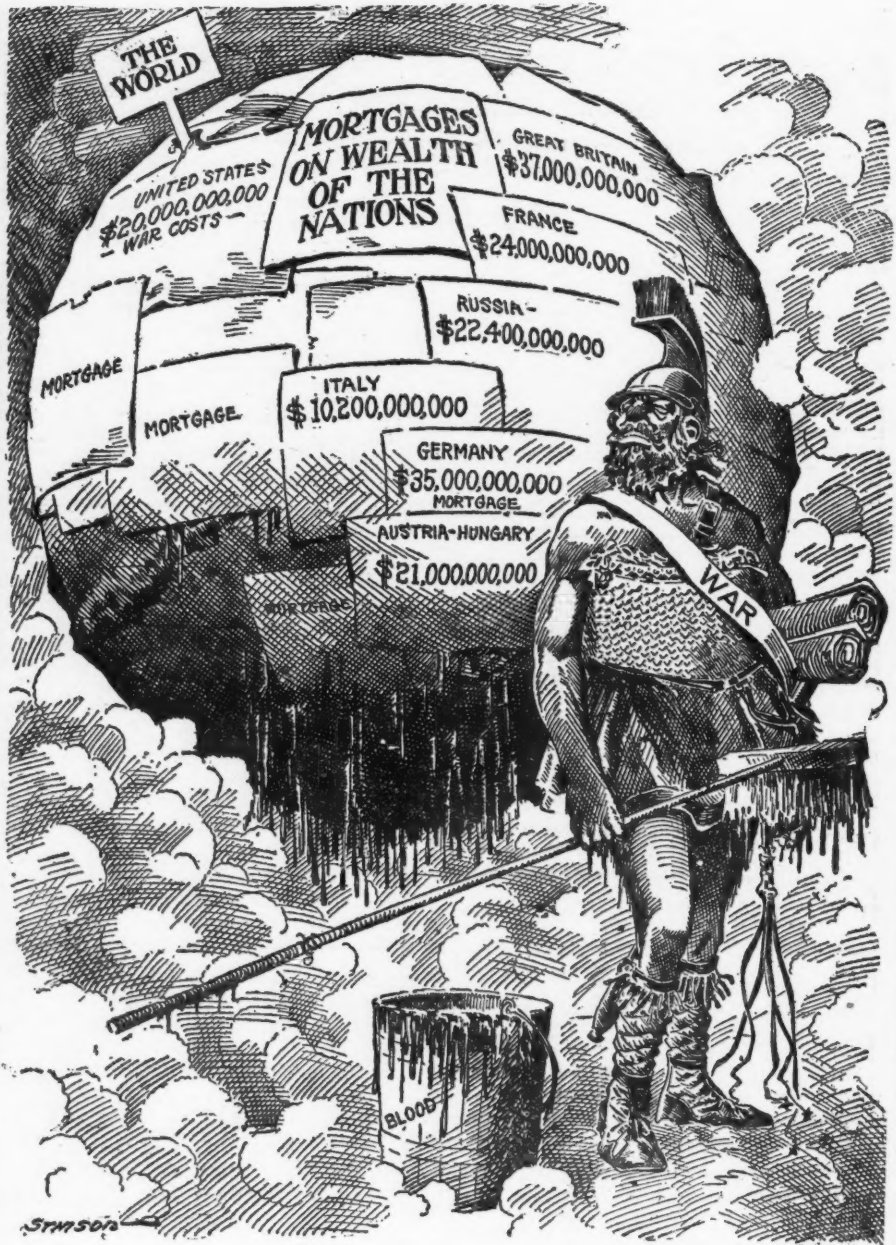
—By Louis Raemaekers.

This cartoon was originally published in *Land and Water*, London, March 2, 1916, with the following text: “‘We shall never sheathe the sword until Belgium recovers all, and more than all, that she has sacrificed.’—Mr. Asquith, Nov. 9, 1914.”



[American Cartoon]

## Plastered



—From The Dayton News.



[American Cartoon]

## The Doorknob Has Hatched!



—From The New York Tribune.



[German Cartoon]

## Bolshevism



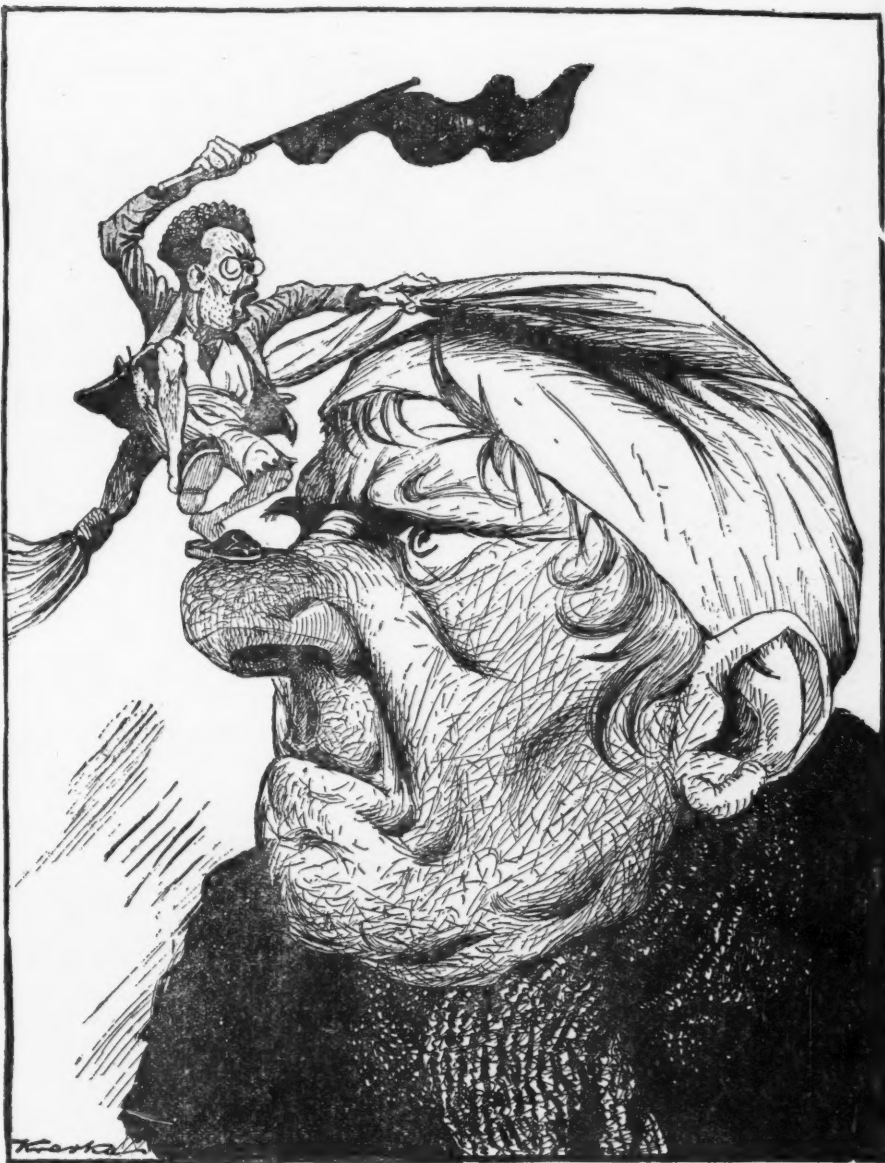
—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich.

THE BOLSHEVIK: "We will show the world that the people also have the right to commit stupidities."



[German Cartoon]

## How Long Will He Stand It?



—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin.

Good German Citizen, how long are you going to let this Spartacan imp pull you around by the nose?



[American Cartoons]

It Hurts, But He's Got to Do It



The Leading Chorus



The Belgian Way



Every Day Is Washday

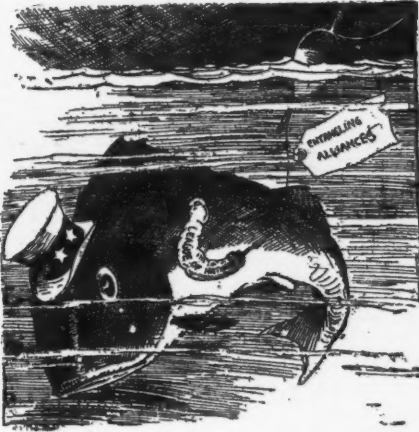


—From Newspaper Enterprise Ass'n, Cleveland.



[American Cartoons]

It Looks Good, But—



—Chicago Tribune.

The Wages of Bolshevism



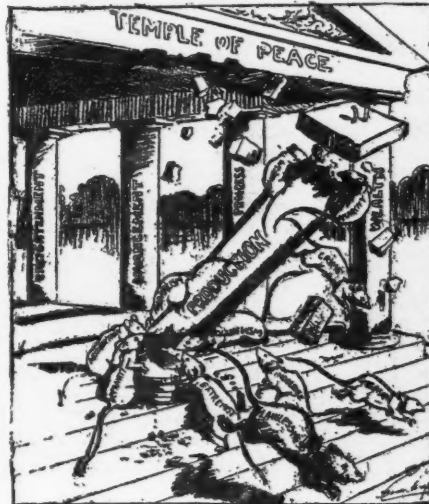
—San Francisco Chronicle.

Russia's Kilkenny Felines



—San Francisco Chronicle.

Undermining the Temple



—San Francisco Chronicle.



[Colombian Cartoon]

## The Last Message



—From the *Bogotá Ómico*.

PRESIDENT WILSON. "Teli the Senate to mend these trousers, for if I wear them in this condition•I may be disgraced at the Peace Conference."



[Dutch Cartoon]

## Santa Claus Wilson



—From *Die Nieuwe Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam.  
"No Bolshevism, Scheidemann! Only good children get presents from Santa Claus."



[German Cartoon]

## Parting



—From *Simplicissimus*.

"O Strassburg, O Strassburg!"



[French Cartoon]

# The Marseillaise at Strasbourg in 1918

"Now I die  
happy!"

—Lucien Jonas  
in *Les Annales*,  
Paris.





[American Cartoon]

## Another Fellow Who Thinks He's Samson



—Chicago Tribune.

[American Cartoon]

## The New Arrival



—New York World.

[German Cartoon]

## Uncle Woodrow as Santa Claus



—Kladderatsch, Berlin, Dec. 7, 1918

"If Fritz will keep order I will in time reveal myself to him in a sympathetic form."

[German Cartoon]

## The Homecoming of Odysseus

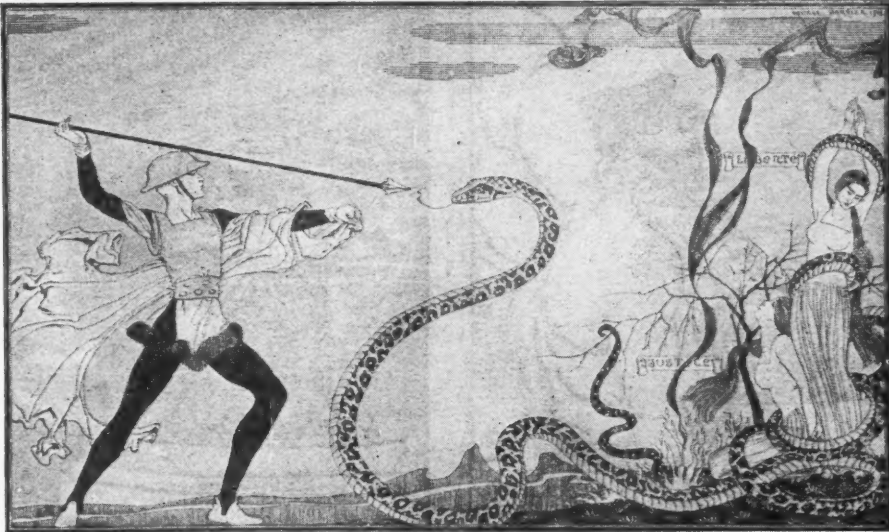


—Kladderatsch, Berlin.



[French Cartoon]

## The Modern Knight Errant



—From *La Baionnette*, Paris.

The Young America, Champion of Justice and Liberty.

[American Cartoons]

### The Wrestlers



—*Newark Evening News*.

### Envoys Extraordinary



—*New York Herald*.



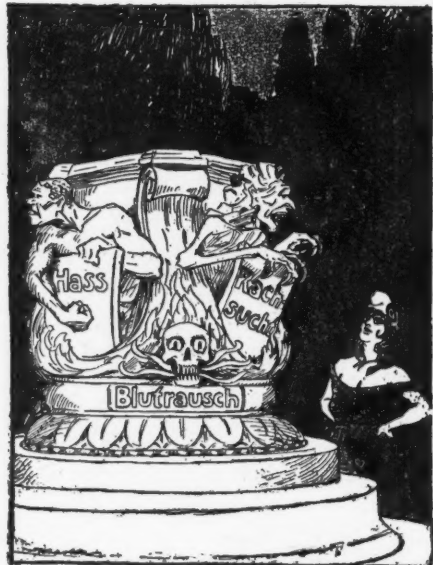
## Old Father Rhine



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

"Have no fear, my children, I will always remain German, even if they make me wear a French cap."

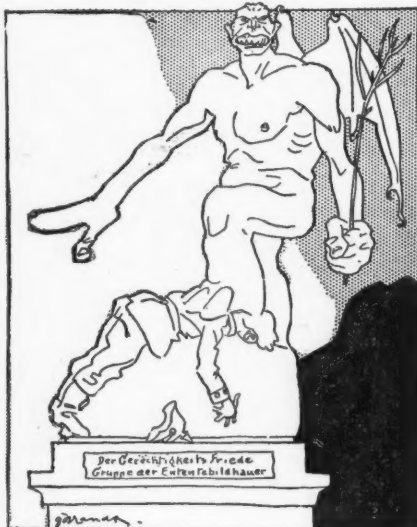
## Pedestal for the "Just Peace"



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

MME. FRANCE: "Having prepared this pedestal of hate, revenge, and blood-thirstiness, I am ready for Wilson's arrival."

## The Entente Sculptor's Work "A Just Peace"



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

GERMANY: "So that's what a righteous peace looks like!"

## The End of Kaiserism



—Simplicissimus, Munich.

"We shed no tears for him—he left us none to shed."



[German Cartoon]

## The New Germany



—From *Lustige Blätter*, Berlin.

One step to right or left means destruction.



[English Cartoon]

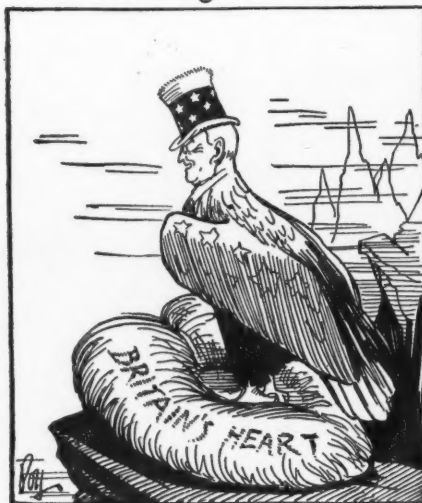
### Hard Lines!



—Passing Show, London.

[English Cartoon]

### The Eagle's Nest



—Evening News, London.

[German Cartoon]

### Becoming Cheerful Again



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

RUMANIA TO THE PEACE OF BREST-LITOVSK:  
"You hateful thing, get out!"

[English Cartoon]

### The Fingers of Fate



—Reynolds's Newspaper, London.

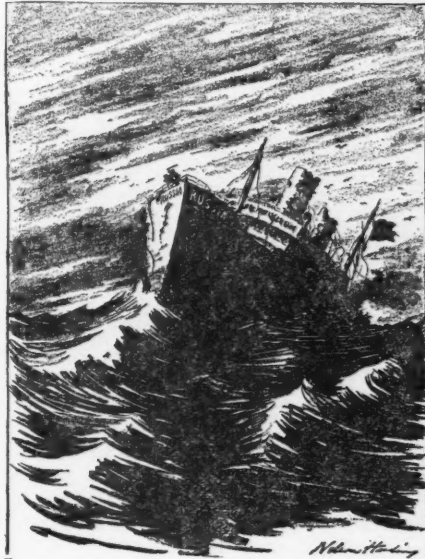


[American Cartoons]

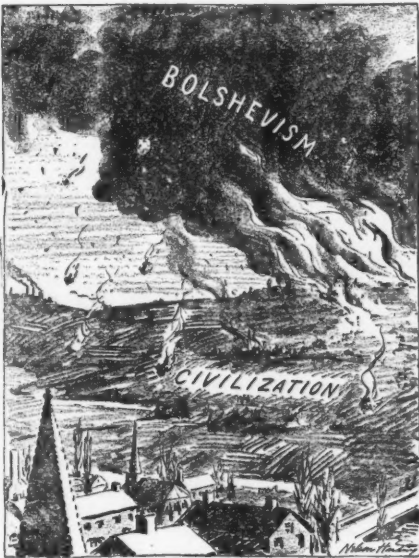
Ghosts of War



A Dangerous Derelict



The Red Peril



Breaking Through the Clouds

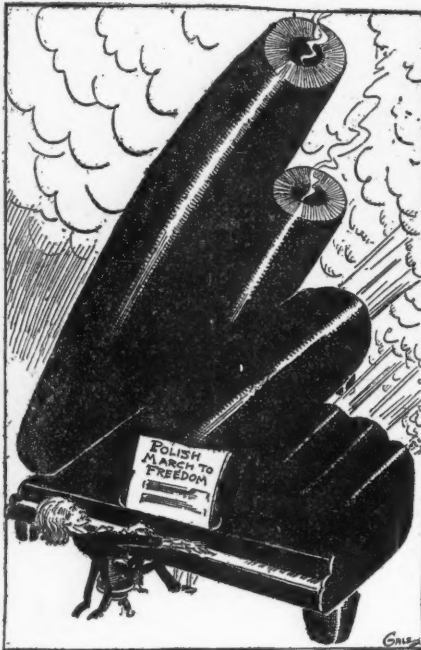


—From The Brooklyn Eagle.



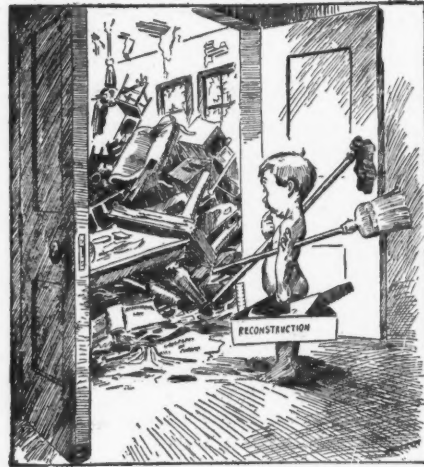
[American Cartoons]

Paderewski's Latest Composition



—Los Angeles Daily Times.

"Gee!"



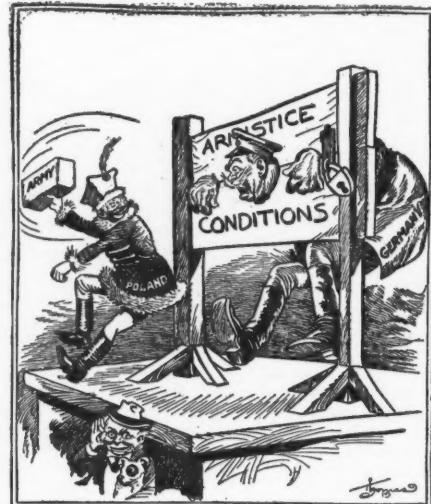
—Omaha World-Herald.

After Years of Waiting

Left by the Receding Wave



—Dallas News.



—Detroit News.



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3. The I-Don't-Care mind—the mind that has become hardened by discouragement.
4. The Timid mind—the mind that lacks self-assertion.
5. The Hazy mind—the mind that is never certain of anything.
6. The Pre-occupied mind—the mind that is never at home.
7. The Frivolous mind—the mind that regards all work as useless.

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If the student can be placed under the third variety he reflects a type teacher who drives more boys from school than any other—a teacher who is forever dashing cold water on budding hopes and desires. Such a teacher is as out of place in a school-room as an iceberg is in a flower garden.

If the learner passes under number four he reflects the misfit teacher—a teacher who has chosen the wrong profession.

If a lad belongs in the fifth class he reflects a teacher with a misty mind—a teacher who acts as if he had a blister on his brain.

If the candidate for college falls into the sixth division he reflects a teacher who always arrives at a railway station after his train has departed. Such a teacher is never able to cover a course in school.

If the boy feels at home in the seventh class he reflects a teacher who hates work, who lacks the power of application, and who is generally a slave to pleasure. Such a teacher is a nuisance in a school-room.

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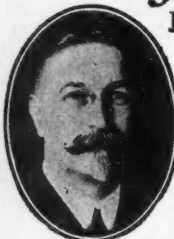
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Take the ordinary longhand letter *Ed*. Eliminate everything but the long downstroke and there will remain *E*. This is the Paragon symbol for D. It is always written downward.

From the longhand letter *Ed* rub out everything except the upper part—the circle—and you will have the Paragon E. *E*

Write this circle at the beginning of / and you will have *Ed*.

By letting the circle remain open it will be a hook, and this hook stands for A. Thus / will be *Ad*. Add another A at the end thus / and you will have a girl's name, *Ada*.

From *Ed* eliminate the initial and final strokes and *O* will remain which is the Paragon symbol for O.

For the longhand *W* which is made of 7 strokes, you use this one horizontal stroke —

Therefore, — would be *Ma*.

Now continue the *E* across the *M*, as to add *D*—thus / and you will have *Mad*. Now add the large circle *O* and you will have *(made)*, which is wonderful, with the silent A and W omitted.

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Duntley, S.	Hot Point	Regina	Victor
Eclipse	Imperial	Royal	Western Electric

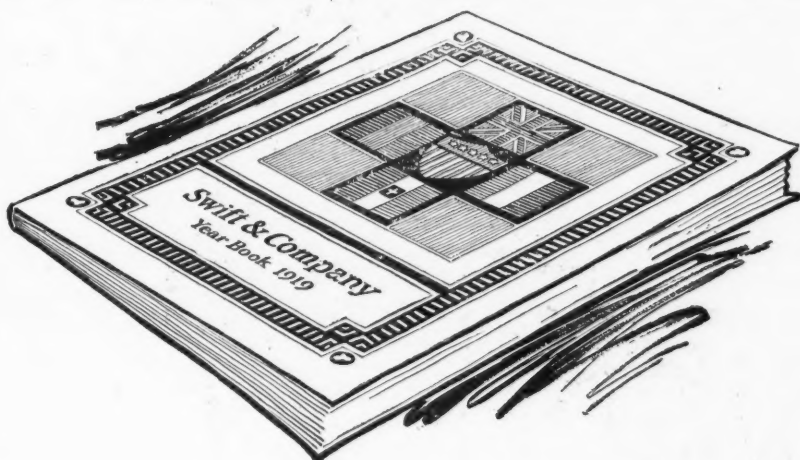
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